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MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

General Editor :

REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S.

MEMORIALS OF OLD SUSSEX

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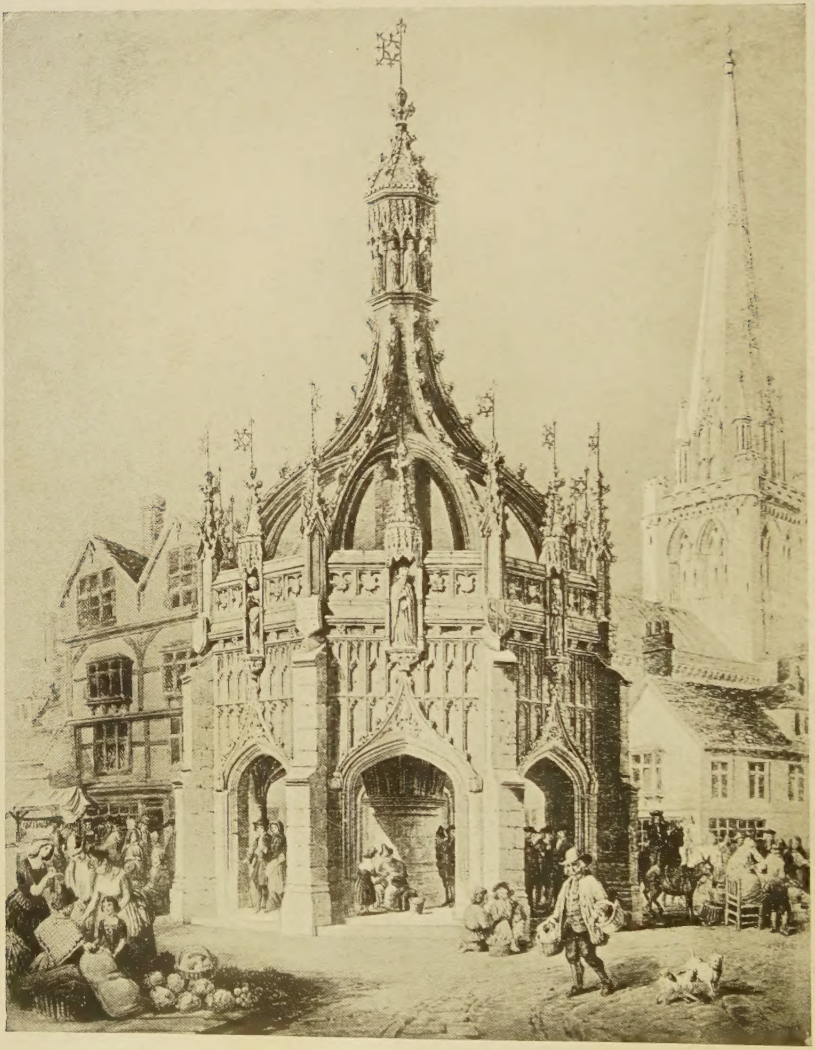

CHICHESTER MARKET CROSS.
AS ERECTED BY BISHOP STOREY, 1499.

942.75

MEMORIALS OF OLD SUSSEX

EDITED BY

PERCY D. MUNDY

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & SONS, 44 & 45 RATHBONE PLACE, W.

1909

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TO

THE MOST HON.

THE MARQUESS OF ABERGAVENNY, K.G.

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY

SPECIAL PERMISSION

PREFACE

SUSSEX is a county so full of interest to the antiquary that the chief difficulty which arose in compiling the present volume lay in the matter of selection; the question being not so much what to include as what to exclude.

The general history of the county, a feature of most of the previous volumes in the series of MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND, has been reluctantly omitted. It was felt, owing to the limited space available, and in view of the intimate association of Sussex with important national events of the past, that this subject could not be adequately dealt with in these pages. Moreover, it is hoped that the various chapters will in a degree tell their own story of the evolution of the county.

The Editor's grateful thanks are due to the various writers who have kindly contributed to the volume, and also to those who have been good enough to furnish photographs and drawings with which to illustrate it. It may be mentioned that all the papers have been specially written for the MEMORIALS OF OLD SUSSEX,

whilst many of the photographs have been taken and drawings made with the same specific purpose.

The Editor has pleasure in acknowledging the kind assistance of Mr. Ditchfield, the General Editor of the series, and in tendering his thanks to many others whose interest in the preparation of this volume, and whose valuable suggestions, have been much appreciated.

PERCY D. MUNDY.

Hove.

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THE INDIVIDUALITY OF SUSSEX

By H. Belloc

WHEN the Roman Empire lost its admirable organization through old age, it developed a number of local differentiations, which have taken on such different names in different parts of the West as to deceive the superficial. A close examination of these areas of differentiation, however, shows something in common to them all. There is, first, this in common—that, all together, they form one great family of men. From the Grampians to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic to the Elbe, Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Western and Southern Germany, and even the adjacent countries which these parts of the empire influenced after direct Roman rule had ceased, all form one civilization. At the least hint of external pressure, that civilization recognizes itself and its own unity.

The great area of Western Europe, thus united under the influence of Rome, has fallen, however, into very distinct aggregations, one group of which alone, and that tardily, achieved anything like homogeneity. For many centuries the sub-units into which the empire fell remained the true units of what we should nowadays call a "national" life. They are very varied in size and in density of population, but the recital of a few of their names is enough to show what one means when one speaks of them: Normandy (which has had a

continuous life within precisely the same boundaries from the time of Diocletian to our own day), Brittany, Scotland, Brabant, Ireland, Navarre, the Asturias, Provence, Auvergne, Wales, England, etc.

These districts, which have but partially coalesced in some cases, and have nowhere completely[1] coalesced to form larger and completely homogeneous nations, were in turn subdivided by local feeling and geographical necessity. Thus the five bishoprics of Normandy represented five old tribal centres, whose individuality still survives. Navarre was obviously divided into its separate valleys on either side of the hills. Brittany made nuclei of its separate harbours. But of all the provinces of the empire, as it was transformed during the Dark and Middle Ages, none produced sharper or more intense subdivisions than South Britain.

In other provinces the boundaries are vague and sometimes arbitrary; more often districts overlap, and for miles the peasantry will call themselves indefinitely members of the one or the other district. Not so with the oldest counties of England. Here there were the separate small kingdoms; here for long flourished a local life so strong as to be almost national. Hereditary custom still survives in them, sometimes (in Kent, for instance) appearing as positive law, and I know not what in the air, building, and scenery which makes a man native to any county know to-day, within a very few miles, when he has traversed the boundary of it.

Among these clearly defined and highly differentiated areas none is more clearly defined or more highly differentiated than Sussex; and the modern man, especially if he have no great personal experience of the county, finds it difficult to explain why this should be, though every man certainly recognizes the individuality of Sussex as a fact.

---

[1] *E.g.*, Scotland and England are not completely coalesced, nor are Picardy and Brabant.

It may not be without interest to those who are about to consider the county in detail to examine what causes have given it this strong and, as it were, national character.

At first sight, to a modern man, and especially to a Londoner, no such causes are to be discovered. Excellent roads lead into the county on every side. A man can leave town in his motor and be in almost any part of the county within three hours, and, if he choose to break the law, within two. The striking features of the landscape are not boundary features (as they are, for instance, in Cheshire or in Northumberland), and such an enquirer might well ask himself by what accidents the separate character of the county arose and has been preserved.

Those accidents are moral more than they are material, but the material foundation for the separate life of Sussex is clear enough when one considers the primitive conditions of the county. To the east and to the west lay the two main centres of national life in South England. Portsmouth and Southampton Water were the entry to the valley of Winchester, the capital of those who became in time the kings of the whole island; Kent was the road from the Continent to London and the centre of ecclesiastical life. Sussex, between, formed no thoroughfare by which the one could communicate with the other.

Why was this? It was because the main highway from west to east, seeking high and dry soil with some protection against attack, was necessarily deflected along the North Downs. The Pilgrims' Way from Winchester to Canterbury, and so to the Straits, was the great avenue of South England, eastward and westward, from prehistoric times to the twelfth century. South of it, the Weald, though it was not the dense forest which some have represented it, was sparsely populated, and, what is more important, ill-supplied with good drinking water; more important still, it was marshy and bad going for an army or a caravan. The more obvious route along

the hills of the sea-coast was cut off by two features still evident to-day—in early times, of capital importance. The marshes of the Rother on the east thoroughly cut off communication from Kent; the complicated labyrinth of tidal ways and boggy flats, which have now become Chichester Harbour and its adjacent creeks, cut off approach from the west.

It may, however, be asked, why should communication have been equally cut off from the north?

The usual answer to this is to say that the Weald, "the great wood," the "Andred's Forest," prevented the passage of men. This was not the case. It was bad going, but it was not by any means so difficult to traverse it from north to south as from east to west; and this for several reasons. First, in more than one place the strip of difficult marshy land, with bad water, was thin or almost cut asunder. One could get down to Chichester, for instance, one of the nuclei of the county, by the sandy ridges of Surrey on to the sandy ridge of Midhurst, and so to the pass over the Downs at Cocking, with no bad going at all except in the Fernhurst valley. On the east, from the upper waters of the Medway, through Rotherfield, and then up and down over the isolated hills of the county, one could pick one's way with no great difficulty to Hastings itself; nor is one surprised to find Rotherfield (in the eighth century) one of the earliest places mentioned in connection with the county, while a great army was brought with rapidity, upon at least one occasion, to the valley of the Brede. Even in the difficult middle part of the Wealden belt there were approaches to the south. The great and purely military way which led from Chichester to London must have been available to quite a late period, and it is probable, though not certain, that Roman roads, less carefully metalled and engineered, led from the mouth of the Adur to the capital, and from the valley of the Ouse.

Many more difficult stretches of country in Britain were habitually traversed in the Dark Ages, and the true reason for the isolation of Sussex was rather to be sought in the fact that the maritime belt of the county was for many centuries no thoroughfare—not even to the Continent from the Thames valley. An all-important consideration in this connection is the absence of navigable water traversing that belt. The water parting, by a curious geological process, which has been partially examined, lies in the very centre of the Weald, upon comparatively low land. The rivers to the south are short and navigable to but a short distance inland. Water carriage, which everywhere created the arteries of civilian travel upon the gradual breakdown of the Roman roads, was in Sussex very local, and to this also must be ascribed the isolation of the district.

The effects of that isolation are clearly apparent in the early history of Sussex. It is converted a century later than the rest of South England; it affords a field for no great conflict between the pirate raids of the sixth century and the Norman invasion of the eleventh. No considerable town or market arises within its boundaries; no commercial or industrial activity, save in the east the smelting of iron, and even that takes on no extension until the Dark Ages are drawing to a close.

The population of Sussex, therefore, grows and forms its early traditions in a seclusion and under a rare protection which permits its special characteristics to take deep root.

From the Norman Conquest onwards, an active life developed within a march of the sea-coast. The harbours are very considerably used; Bosham, Shoreham, Pevensey, Winchelsea, Rye, and Seaford are the principal gates of the country opposite Normandy. A series of powerful fortifications arises to defend them, and some of the greatest and wealthiest families are connected with Sussex land. But this development was gradually

checked as the Middle Ages in their turn drew to a close. From the Reformation until our own time, Sussex—though, of course, to a far less extent than had been the case under primitive conditions—ceased to be a thoroughfare. The clay of the Weald again formed something of a barrier to travel, and the commercial influences which affect South England ebbed and flowed to the west and to the east of the county. The two great roads on to London became the Portsmouth Road and the Old Kent Road. There was no one great, well-kept highway from the coast of Sussex to the capital in post-Reformation times until the development of Brighton produced what is now the broadest, the shortest, and the most convenient of all avenues from London to the sea.

Side by side with this physical isolation, and dependent upon it, grew that strong corporate tradition which still maintains the individuality of the county. It produced a type of mind and manner which refuses to be absorbed, so that the great towns which modern luxury and facility of travel have planted upon the sea-coast, and the one or two considerable agglomerations of houses which have sprung up on the railways traversing the county, have rather the aspect of colonies than of native growths. A mile outside their boundaries, and you might be a day's march away.

It might appear fantastic to point out—though it would be a true criticism—that, even under modern conditions, the physical defences of the county's individuality have their effect. The clay of the Weald still prevents an exaggeration of building that would otherwise certainly take place within so close a neighbourhood of London and of the sea. The depth for which water must be sought in the chalk, the abruptness of the hills, the marshy character of the few valleys that cut the Downs, have still a powerful effect upon travel and upon settlement. To take one curious example

which still survives. If a man finds himself at Pulborough, and desires to reach the bridge of Arundel or the sea-coast at Littlehampton, a way which should be easy enough under modern conditions lies apparently open before him; at least, it lies apparently open if he visits the place in summer. A broad and perfectly even valley cuts through the Downs and leads straight to the sea-coast, past Arundel to the mouth of the Arun. No modern road follows that obvious gateway! He has but one choice of entry: he must climb the full height of Bury Hill and go down the other slope towards the sea-plain. The valley is utilized only by the railway, and this is due to the fact that for so many centuries the water meadows were all marsh-land.

It is a final question of some interest, though no one can decide it, whether the isolation and the consequent individuality of Sussex will remain. As a matter of opinion, and only as a matter of opinion, one would be inclined to answer in the affirmative. The railways have developed at certain spots, and that quite recently, groups of buildings which are no more peculiar to the county than to the suburbs of the Metropolis; groups in which the Sussex oak is absent, the Sussex chimney unknown, and the great down fireplace has no room to spread. It may be doubted whether extensions of this kind will proceed. They always pick isolated and, what seem to the townsman, favoured spots: they are shy of the general soil of the Weald; and it will be discovered that long residence in them shows, in their building, an ignorance of the climate of the county. They too often affect a southern outlook. Our Sussex houses, as a short examination of any district will show, stand much more commonly east and west. The thorough cultivation which the heavy soil of the Weald needs, its deep trenching, its late planting, the nature of its water supply, all render it a place still on the defence against modern influence; and the line which has been

a barrier for Sussex—of a far more formidable kind it is true—during two long periods of the history of the county will, it may be presumed, remain a barrier.

Only one thing could destroy us: not the presence among us of chance settlers who have fallen in love with the place in summer-time, and then write letters complaining that the silent Sussex man is "unsociable"; still less the poets who hammer out alien epithets for the Downs; nor the motor-cars which will, as their nature is, run bound to the few straight and broad tracks which lead to the sea-coast. The thing that would wound us, and perhaps destroy us, would be the discovery of metal or of coal. Men of science assure us that this is impossible. Their word is extremely doubtful upon all matters, but upon this matter it is, for once, a comforting and a reassuring word.

CELTIC ANTIQUITIES

By George Clinch, F.S.A.Scot., F.G.S.

IT is not often that an account of the prehistoric antiquities of one of the English counties furnishes information of a particularly attractive character as far as the general reader is concerned. The materials from which the archæologist reconstructs the unwritten story of the remote past are generally in the form of mere chips of flint or stone, or of potsherds. They are fragmentary and scattered, or procured from barrows or other sepulchral deposits—objects which, to the average man, must appear trivial and unimportant.

The prehistoric antiquities of Sussex, however, whilst including many objects of commonplace and ordinary character, comprise remains which are far more important, and which have distinctive and individual features.

Whilst this article is specially concerned with that part of the prehistoric past in which bronze and iron were employed, it may be convenient to give at the outset a word or two as to the preceding Stone Age remains of Sussex.

Comparatively few Palæolithic implements have been found in the county. The most important are those described in 1905 by Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., in a recent publication of the Society of Antiquaries of London.[1] They were found mainly in the gravels of the river Arun and the western Rother.

1 *Proceedings*, vol. xx., pp. 197-207.

Remains of the Neolithic period, in the form of flint implements and earthworks, have been found in great plenty in Sussex, particularly at Cissbury Ring and in many parts of the South Downs. Nor are traces of Neolithic population wanting in the interior of the county, quite near the sea-coasts, and on the river banks. There is abundant evidence that Sussex was an important and well-peopled district before the introduction of bronze into this country.

It is generally believed that the art of working bronze, and probably some implements and weapons fashioned in that metal, were brought to our shores by an early expedition of Celtic people. There are reasons for thinking that a number of expeditions of Bronze Age folk came successively to Britain in such a way as to continually add to the sum of Celtic influence in these islands. The intercourse between the newcomers and the already settled inhabitants appears to have been of a friendly, peaceful, and probably commercial nature. The evidence of sepulchral mounds or barrows which may be referred to this period of transition certainly confirms this view, Neolithic and Bronze Age burials having taken place at one and the same place, and practically at one and the same time.

The distribution of Bronze Age antiquities in Sussex is interesting, and affords a valuable clue to the population of the county in prehistoric days. They have been found mainly on the sea-coasts, as, for example, Bognor, Hove, Brighton, Eastbourne, and St. Leonards; but also at some distance from the sea, and practically, at intervals, all over the county, including, amongst others, the following places: Battle, Waldron, East Hoathly, Handcross, Chailey, Storrington, Hardham, and Chichester.

An examination of the archæological map published in the *Victoria History of Sussex*, vol. i., enables one to identify distinct districts or centres of

populated areas during the Bronze Age. Brighton, Lewes, and Eastbourne furnish examples of such districts. They indicate practically the centres of three groups of Bronze Age antiquities; yet perhaps it would be unwise to place too much reliance upon the comparative abundance of antiquities found therein, because they happen to be also three districts which have undergone much excavation for building purposes, by means of which the things may have been laid bare. Moreover, the growing taste for archæological pursuits can hardly have failed to arouse public interest in whatever may have been turned up from time to time in the course of deep diggings in the soil. It is conceivable that the number of relics found may, to some extent, be due to the keen scrutiny with which the soil has been watched, and that equally important remains lie awaiting discovery in remote and sparsely peopled districts of Sussex.

Some of the Bronze Age objects in the Brighton district, however, are of such a character as to point unmistakably to an important former population. Thus, at Hove, in a sepulchral mound uncovered during building operations in 1856, a rude oak coffin was found, containing pieces of charcoal, fragments of partially decayed bone, a beautifully fashioned amber cup of hemispherical form and furnished with a handle, a bronze knife, a whetstone, and a perforated stone axe.

An illustrated account of the objects found and the circumstances of their discovery was published in the ninth volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, and to that account the reader may be referred should more precise details be wanted. The most remarkable feature about the discovery, however, appears to be the association in one rough coffin of objects to which, in the ordinary way, one would ascribe various dates. The bronze knife, for example, is of the flat, simple character supposed to be characteristic of the beginning of the Bronze Age. The stone axe would, in former years,

have been considered Neolithic, but there is abundant evidence in favour of assigning them a period within the Bronze Age. They were probably made at first towards the latter part of the Neolithic Age, and being much prized as weapons, if indeed they were not regarded as the emblems of some cult, they were preserved from one generation to another; and they have certainly been found in association with Bronze Age burials in many parts of the country.

The amber cup, of which a photograph (taken by the kind permission of the authorities of the Corporation Museum, Brighton) is here given, presents a beauty of form and a degree of finish for which one who is familiar with Bronze Age pottery is hardly prepared. The regularity of its form, and of the ornamental lines which have been cut upon it, as well as the general smoothness of the surface, are points which clearly indicate that the vessel was shaped, at least in part, on the lathe. Whether the cup was actually shaped in this country or imported is uncertain, but the latter explanation seems to be the more probable.

The Hove barrow and its remarkable contents furnish some most important evidence of the overlapping of objects belonging to one definite period into a subsequent period, and they clearly demonstrate the wisdom of that archæological caution which declines to assign dates to prehistoric objects, and which, whilst recognizing a definite sequence of prehistoric periods, refuses to lay down hard-and-fast lines as to when those periods began and ended.

Next to the Hove discovery, perhaps the group of antiquities found in 1825 at Hollingbury Hill forms the most important group of Bronze Age objects yet found in Sussex. Although not numerically remarkable, they present special features in themselves, and a very noteworthy regular arrangement in relation to each other. In the centre of the group was a handsome twisted torc,

Fig. 1.—Celtic Vessel found at Elm Grove, Brighton.

Fig. 2.—Amber Cup, found at Hove.

ornamented with spiral rings of bronze, and in a good state of preservation. A broken palstave was placed within the circle of the torc or collar, whilst outside it were arranged four articles of bronze, supposed by some to be massive bracelets. These last were so arranged in relation to the torcs as to form a square group. The group of bronze articles, placed in the same way as when found, is now exhibited in the British Museum.

The purpose of the bracelet-like objects has been the subject of much speculation in archæological circles, and may be said to be still awaiting satisfactory explanation. The more massive seem far too heavy, and even the slighter examples must have been curiously uncomfortable and clumsy for actual use. The same objections equally apply to the theory, advanced by some antiquaries, that they were anklets, or even fetters; whilst the regularity of form certainly suggests a definite use.

The range of this class of bronze bracelet (we use the term as being the best known and most convenient, although probably inaccurate) is extremely limited, the heavier specimens not having been found outside Sussex, one doubtful example excepted. Thinner and lighter examples, however, have been found in more northern parts of England and in Wales. Both heavier and lighter examples were formed in the same way, viz.: a long bar of bronze, square or circular in section, was bent double, leaving a rather open loop at the bent end. The two free ends were then together brought round and hooked over the open loop, in such a way as to produce a circular or bracelet-like form.

In the case of the Hollingbury Hill group, it was found that one of the "bracelets" and the palstave were broken. This, taken in connection with the symmetrical order in which the things were found, may perhaps indicate a votive or funeral offering. Several examples of heavy bracelets of this type, and all

doubtless of the Bronze Age, have been found not far from Brighton.

Hoards of bronze articles, such as celts, palstaves, etc., have been found in several parts of the county. Two, namely, that discovered at Worthing in 1877 and the hoard found at Wilmington in 1861, are of peculiar interest from the fact that coarse vessels of earthenware were employed as receptacles in which they were deposited. The vessel found at Wilmington contained a hoard of no less than thirty-three articles of bronze, comprising, mainly, socketed and looped celts and looped palstaves—implements which point to a somewhat late stage in the Bronze Age.

It will be at once apparent that collections, or hoards, of implements or other bronze things of this early period must be of great archæological value, both on account of the articles themselves and also, and especially, on account of their association together, because it is obvious that each represents, in all likelihood, the entire metallic possessions of an individual of the Bronze Age. Archæologists have been able to classify bronze hoards to some extent. Thus, collections of new, finished or nearly finished, and unused implements, as well as lumps of bronze, are naturally regarded as the stock-in-trade of the merchant or founder in bronze; whilst those hoards, like that at Wilmington, which consist of worn-out or broken pieces, are considered to be personal hoards, which the possessor buried in the earth for safety, or as votive deposits.

This brief survey of the remains of the Bronze Age, as represented by discoveries made in Sussex, although far from complete, as many of the minor finds are not mentioned, will doubtless suffice to show how important this district we now know as Sussex had become long before the time of written history, and before the secret of working iron was brought to our shores.

The knowledge of iron, and of the means of working

it, are believed to have been brought to Britain by a branch or tribe of the Celtic family called Brythons, to whom the name of this island, Britain, is due. The remains found in Sussex which may be attributed to this period present points of the greatest interest, and clearly prove that the district was occupied by a numerous, skilful, and artistic population. The remains consist of earthworks, such as those on the crest of Mount Caburn, and possibly others on the South Downs, as well as smaller objects, such as antiquities in pottery or metal. It is conceivable that several of the earthworks of Sussex belong to the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, although, from the absence of distinctive marks, and from our ignorance of their special methods of defence, or indeed for both these reasons, we have no means of exactly determining the ages of the camps. Mount Caburn, already mentioned, was subjected to a careful examination by General Pitt-Rivers, whose methods of investigation were thorough and exhaustive. During these explorations several Early Iron Age articles were discovered, including a hammer, two spear-heads, a small plough-share, spud, knives, sickle, bill-hook, fragments of armour, and numerous minor pieces of iron, also horn combs for weaving or combing flax, pottery, and numerous miscellaneous antiquities.

The mixture of implements of husbandry and articles for attack and defence is an interesting and doubtless perfectly true indication of the life of the Early Iron Age men and women who inhabited the hill-top fastness of Mount Caburn.

The pottery found here is especially valuable as archæological evidence. It may be divided into two types. One type, represented by a few fragments, is decorated by a rather graceful series of shallow curved grooves, accompanied by dots and dot and circle patterns —a species of ornament probably derived from the

grape-vine or ivy spray. Similar ornament has been noted on Late Celtic pottery discovered at Hunsbury Camp in Northamptonshire, and in Essex. The other type is of somewhat coarser ware, and shaped with less skill, although not altogether without grace. Vessels of this class closely resemble the form of the modern sauce-pan devoid of handles. Two examples were found at Cissbury. Another specimen, found at Cissbury, is now in Brighton Museum, and still another, found at Elm Grove, Brighton, is, by the courtesy of the authorities of Brighton Museum, figured in the accompanying plate. The curved lines of the ornament, although somewhat resembling those of the returned spirals characteristic of this period, indicate a later and somewhat degraded form of art.

One of the most remarkable of recently discovered antiquities of this period is a very curious little bronze boar, found buried in some gravel, accompanied by two bronze discs and a bronze pin, at Happy Valley, Woodendean Farm, Ovingdean. It measures only a trifle over $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches from tail to snout, the latter being well developed, and measuring $\frac{3}{8}$-inch in length. The mane, or ridge of bristles, is also well developed, and extends the whole length of the back. The tail is small, and curled up in characteristic fashion. The eyes, now represented by small projecting points, have, in the process of artistic evolution, been moved to the base of the ears.

The boar, or pig, is an animal of which several Late Celtic representations have been found. A series of minute bronze pigs, modelled in the round, found at Hounslow, Middlesex, is now preserved in the British Museum. Another example, found in the eastern part of Sussex, is now in Lewes Museum. An extraordinarily fine, although much conventionalized, wild boar once decorated the famous Late Celtic shield found in the river Witham, in Lincolnshire. In some of the Early

Iron Age barrows of Yorkshire human remains have been found in association with bones and tusks (the latter in some cases decorated by carving) of the wild boar.

The conclusion to which these facts point is that the boar and some other animals, such as the ox and the horse, were held in some special esteem or regard during the period under consideration. It is probable, judging from the Yorkshire barrows, that the flesh of the wild boar was buried in the graves of the departed in order to provide food for a future life. In the course of time one can quite easily imagine that the custom became crystallized into a mere form, and finally a miniature copy of the boar in bronze was made to serve as a substitute. It is not quite clear that the minute bronze pigs from Hounslow and Sussex were parts of sepulchral deposits, but it is probable that they were.

The evidence of the antiquities found within the borders of the county shows very plainly that, long before the Roman period, Sussex was peopled by an industrious, active, and, generally speaking, peaceable population. The camps on the South Downs are by no means entirely, and not even largely, of a purely military character. Throughout the whole of the Celtic period the Downs were doubtless used as pasturage for sheep, just as they were used before and since.

In the "Long Man," at Wilmington, we have an interesting trace of a species of hill-side sculpture, to which a somewhat similar figure at Cerne Abbas belongs, and to which the various White Horses are clearly related. There is reason to think that they belong to the Late Celtic period, and that their purpose was not unconnected with some form of ancient religion.

THE DOWNLAND

By William Martin, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.

TO the illiterate a book is but a spluttered page; to appreciate its conventional signs a knowledge of letters, words, and sentences is requisite, whence may be transmitted in successive gradation the message from fellow to fellow. So, too, with the book of the Downland, which lies open for inspection by every passer-by. Could the language in which its pages address us be understood, what a tale of antiquity would be unfolded! If the symbols which are exposed on the surface of Down-country, and the markings which present themselves could be interpreted, the prehistoric would cease to be, and the tale of bygones be as of yesterday. A hillock here, a rampart there, a depression yonder, the scratchings even from a rabbit's burrow might then be as pregnant of meaning as the closely reasoned page of the philosopher. Where decipherment is difficult, imagination riots and theory and romance find foothold at the expense of fact. If both information is lacking and evidence is but hearsay, error gallops and truth lags behind. Careful observation and the collation of first-hand information must, as in other departments of investigation, be the prelude to successful attempt to wring from the Downland its past history. Only by some such methods as these can we hope to erect upon a scientific basis those hypotheses which, accounting for things as they are, will suggest with accuracy things as they were.

An Appreciation

Remarkably diverse are the opinions expressed from time to time concerning the South Downs, that range of hills which extends from one end of the long county of Sussex to the other. To the casual or indiscriminating observer, the downs, in their stretches of uniform hills and hollows, appear with scarcely a feature to redeem their monotony. Almost destitute of trees, agriculture in abeyance, population sparse, and all the hustle of modern life conspicuously absent, they exhibit to the many whose jaded appetite requires satisfaction in a continual supply of exaggerated sentimentalism but a dull and uninteresting spectacle. To some, on the other hand, these very negations constitute a charm—perhaps the chief—of the Downland; for here, with its surface for the most part undisturbed through the course of centuries, the beginnings of English history may be traced. Even the three centuries of vigorous iron-working in the adjacent weald has failed to obliterate the evidences of early man, while the absence of factories, with their smoke-producing proclivities and their attraction as hives of industry, have allowed the years to pass without witnessing abrupt or violent change in the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the Down-country. In many a fold and crease in the hills there is yet to be found an old-world hamlet where the spirit of mediævalism still lingers, though perilously threatened by the appearance in its very midst of golf-links and the motor-car. A closer acquaintance with the terrain suggests the possibility of profitable inquiry, while intimacy, revealing much that entertains, engenders an affection which the lapse of time serves but to increase.

Here on the Downland the wheels of time grind slowly and the folk die of old age. In no place within easy reach of the Metropolis can the "rest cure" be so comfortably and readily effected as upon the broad

sweeps of the hills, far away from the shriek of the railway whistle and the dust of the highway. With footfall deadened by the springy turf, and with Nature in her brightest mood for a companion, the distant bark of the sheep-dog and the clink-clank from the neck of the bell-wether seem but a fitting break to the prevailing silence. There lie the crescents of darkened herbage, where, in our childish imaginings, dancing fairies tripped a measure, and where the "pharisees" of our youth, the little people who roamed the hills, held their meetings. We may rest awhile and admire the rolling landscape, with its rich colouring of varied hue, where every grass knoll serves to focus the vision. We may lazily follow the clouds as they cast their fantastic figures upon the green sward and shadow chases shadow across the grassy slopes. As the purple haze creeps along the valley, we may judge how far short of the original is the artist's representation of the scene.

If so minded, we may descend one of the hollows, where, cloistered by the sheltering hills, a village rests. In conversation with the oldest inhabitant an idea of the way in which the years have passed will be gathered and an appreciation of the inherent pride of the Sussex yeoman in his long Saxon ancestry obtained. To no mere "son of the soil" shall we be speaking. His name is in Domesday. Dignified civility and sturdy independence are blended in his nature. And when he takes his long rest beneath the shade of the edifice which, year in and year out, has ever been to him a living reality, he will leave behind memories of which we all may well be envious. We may rest content with the full consciousness that, so long as the Downland produces men of this stamp, so long we need have no fear for our country's future.

As typical of seventeenth-century thought and appreciation of our Sussex hills, it may be noted that the naturalist Ray spoke of the Downs "as very ornamental

The Southdowns, near Lewes.

to the earth, affording pleasure and delightful prospects." Gilbert White, of Selborne, improving on this passage, said that Ray thought the prospect from the Plumpton Plain, near Lewes, "equal to anything he had seen in the finest parts of Europe." White himself remarked:

> Though I have now travelled the Sussex Downs upwards of thirty years, yet I still investigate that chain of majestic mountains with fresh admiration year by year, and I think I see new beauties every time I traverse it.

Mary Lamb, referring in one of her letters to the stay of her brother at Brighton, wrote:

> Charles and I played truants, and wandered among the hills, which we magnified into little mountains, and almost as good as Westmoreland scenery; certainly we made discoveries of many pleasant walks which few of the Brighton visitors have ever dreamed of; for like as is the case in the neighbourhood of London, after the first two or three miles we were sure to find ourselves in a perfect solitude.

Whether or no we agree in these panegyrics and allow the term "mountains" for elevations which nowhere reach a thousand feet, yet the smoothness and regularity of outline of Downland with its covering of short, springy turf, the extensive range of vision obtainable across the weald to the north and to the sea on the south, the solitude of the hills, the freedom from trespassing notices, the bracing air which sweeps across the summits even on the hottest days, and the varied character of the natural life there existing, unite in pleasing contrast to the many advertised haunts of the week-end tripper.

The Forming of the Downland

The Downs, as we now see them, both the North and the South, may be considered as the surviving portions of the extremities of the gigantic earthen saddle which, in far-off Eocene times, lay across the south-eastern counties of England. The hump of this anticline, or

saddle-back, was carried away by water-agency which, continuing to act upon the underlying beds, produced the lowering of the central portions of the counties of Surrey, Kent, and Sussex. There then remained on both sides of this long central area of the Weald the irregular rounded-off slopes of the gradually retreating sides of the saddle-hump. Harder material, which became exposed and was not removed by water-carriage, is seen to-day in the Mid-Sussex or Wealden Heights. These reach an elevation of 796 feet at Crowborough Beacon.

The water-agency, which was instrumental in breaking down and removing the saddle-hump and in excavating the Weald, is typified by the rivers which flow in a northerly direction to the Thames and those which escape on the south in the English Channel.

The commencement of the flow of the rivers is ascribed to the time when the hump which formed the water-divide was present. As the rivers flowed they carved for themselves the necessary channels through the hills, and at the same time drew away the softer materials of the hump and its inferior strata. Thus the beds of the rivers and the Wealden Plain were simultaneously lowered. There then remained the North and the South Downs, and between them the great Wealden inlier, which extends from Petworth to the coasts of Kent and Sussex. Of the south-flowing rivers which intersect the South Downs there are five of importance. They wind along the bottom of broad trenches which, in many instances, are several hundred feet below the tops of the surrounding hills.

These rivers are the Rother, on the eastern boundary of the county; the Cuckmere, the mouth of which is situated between Seaford and Eastbourne; the Ouse, which, receiving the Ritch immediately below the county town of Lewes, empties at Newhaven; the Adur, discharging its contents at Kingston-on-Sea; and the Arun, at Littlehampton. If to these we add the diminutive

stream, the Lavant, upon the banks of which the cathedral city Chichester stands, each river is found to correspond to one of the six rapes or divisions as they extend across the county from north to south. Mindful of the importance of natural features in the delimitation of territory, doubtless these rivers in early times constituted tribal divisions. An indication of these periods may be seen, by a stretch of the imagination, in Gilbert White's allusion to flocks of sheep with horns being seen exclusively westward of the river Adur, while to the east of the river poll-sheep with black faces are alone to be seen, the shepherds saying "that the case has been so from time immemorial." Since White's time this division of the flocks, however, has ceased to exist.

The denudation of the saddle-hump, and the carving of the hollows in the Downs, by water which reached the coast in recognisable channels, is also evidenced to a remarkable degree by the draining of the valleys towards the sea. As a rule every valley of Downland is found with an outlet communicating with the coast. A remarkable exception to this direction of draining is afforded by the far-famed ravine, the Devil's Dyke, the favourite resort of the visitor to Brighton. It starts behind the camp, "The Poor Man's Wall," which crowns the summit of the hill, and, curving easterly, opens out at the northern face of the South Downs at some elevation above the level of the plain below. The traditional attribution of the formation of the dyke to the Evil One has often been told with many variants. "Old Nick," envious of the many churches which studded the Weald, determined, in a spirit of revenge, to admit the sea in a single night by cutting through the Downs. While engaged on this undertaking, he awoke an old dame, who, to be even with His Majesty, thought to construct an artificial sun as evidence of dawn:

Forth from her casement in a minute,
A sieve, with flaming candle in it,
She held to view—and simple Nick,
Who ne'er suspecting such a trick,
(All rogues are fools) when first his sight
A full orb'd luminary bright
Beheld—he fled—his work undone,
Scar'd at the sight of a new Sun;
And smuttering curses that the day
Should drive him from his work away!

The tertiary formations which, before the excavation of the Weald, no doubt overlay the chalk are represented in many places by pockets of sand and gravel. These, for instance, are to be met with on Seaford Head, at Newhaven Castle, and on Malling Hill at Lewes. The "grey wethers," which lie stranded in many situations on the Downs, are also relics of the Eocene tertiary beds, as well as the conglomerates and pudding-stones scattered here and there. At Brighton, for example, these monoliths have been employed as parish boundaries, while several, removed from the top of the Church Hill during the first quarter of the last century, adorn the base of the fountain on the Steyne.[1]

A Typical Map-Section of the Downland

A piece of the ordnance relief map will indicate the general character of the South Downs as they lie between the Weald and the sea, and depict the water-worn, goffered fringe of the Downland. The tidal river, the Adur, recalling the *Portus Adurni* of the Romans, is seen flowing through the channel which it has excavated in the hills. As in past ages, so now, it continues to bring down the wastage from the Weald, each brooklet and runnel contributing its quota of fertile soil and disintegrated rock to the main stream and thence to the

[1] I am indebted to Mr. E. A. Martin, F.G.S., for his many notes concerning the forming of the Downland and for valuable suggestions on other subjects.—W. M.

sea. The alluvium here, as elsewhere, has choked the immediate outlet at the coast line, so that the final course of the river has been diverted by the bar which has accumulated. The mouth of the river is therefore at Kingston, a mile or so to the east of New Shoreham. The same phenomenon was to be seen in connection with the Ouse, some eighteen miles away, and also the Arun.

The Ouse formerly debouched at Seaford, but an outlet was artificially constructed during the sixteenth century at Meeching, and the name New Haven given to the place. The dry river-bed from Newhaven to Seaford is still readily traceable. On the map-section, hill-peaks also appear with their "encampments." Thus, on the west, Cissbury, the "Sheffield of the Stone Age," is to be seen, while due north and overlooking the Weald Chanctonbury Ring

GEOLOGICAL SECTION FROM LONDON TO BRIGHTON THROUGH THE NORTH AND SOUTH DOWNS AND THE WEALDEN AREA.

g Purbecks.	h^3 Gault Clay.
h Hastings Beds.	h^4 Upper Greensand.
h^1 Weald Clay.	h^5 Chalk.
h^2 Lower Greensand.	*i* Tertiary Beds.

is shown. Where the Adur cuts through the Downs, Bramber, with its Norman keep and ruined castle, enclosing a British mound, guards the valley. This valley, as late as Norman times perhaps, was an arm of the sea or completely filled with water, as it is nowadays when the floods are out.

Passing along the northern edge of the Downs another earthwork appears above Edburton, and, within two miles, the "Poor Man's Wall," as it is called, at the Dyke. To the north-east there is seen the imposing sentinel-like summit of Wolstanbury, surmounted by a mound and ditch. This hill in its grandeur vies with Ditchling Beacon, a few miles off. Immediately above Kingston-by-Sea the camp at Thunder's Barrow is marked, a name suggestive of Saxon derivation.

The Study of Earthworks and Camps

By way of introduction to an inspection or investigation of a particular set of earthworks, or of a "Roman encampment," the following general remarks may prove of service.

Earthworks and ramparts of various dimensions, with their accompanying dry ditches, are still to be seen on the dominating summits, and in the combes, denes, valleys, and bottoms along the length and breadth of the hills. In spite of the weathering of centuries, and of the work of the plough, the earthworks, whether known as camps, Roman encampments, or castles—terms clearly indicative of traditional opinion as to their former use—are still abundant. In this respect the Downland is specially fortunate. By reason also of the comparatively small area over which the camps extend, admirable opportunities are afforded for a study of these remains. Fortunately, the more elevated parts of the Downland, with their few inches of soil overlying the chalk, have been too lean or inaccessible for economic or successful

cultivation. Also where quarries for chalk or sand have been excavated, pits dug, barrows thrown up, and ramparts constructed, or where mounds have been formed by natural agency, the weathering of an age has failed to reduce these scorings to a uniform level. In the case of abandoned cultivations, which, together with traces of vanished farmsteads, may be here and there detected, there are sufficient characteristics remaining to permit of their being distinguished from encampments, for which, to the untrained eye, they might be readily mistaken. Whenever upon the surface an impediment is offered to the free sweep of the wind, in course of time a mound or bank of appreciable dimensions will be developed. Thus the line of an uprooted hedge, along with the not unusual ditch which accompanies a hedge, is suggestive of artificial earthwork. But the otherwise general smoothness of the surface, and the little disturbance to which the grass has been subjected, has doubtless prevented a more rapid increase of obstructions to drift, with the result that fewer natural banks are to be seen than otherwise might have been anticipated. When, however, impediments have been presented to the wind, and their surfaces have been smoothed over by a long succession of summer growths which, in their turn, have been closely cropped by sheep, a rampart with prehistoric appearance is presented. However, on the whole, it may be said that the surface of Downland remains in substantially the same condition as preceding centuries have witnessed, and that the irregularities which have arisen can be detected, and in many instances be distinguished from each other.

In no department of antiquarian research is the quest for knowledge more baffling than in the case of earthworks, which, both from their position and from the names which they bear, appear to have formed a part of some protective system for man or beast. When were they constructed? to what purposes were they put? how

long could they be held? how were they watered? are questions which immediately arise and which remain yet to be satisfactorily answered.

Indeed, few of the conclusions which have been reached have been accepted by all enquirers. In the absence of thorough investigation, particularly by way of excavation of a large number of camps, our knowledge can scarcely reach the degree of sufficiency that is desirable.

A comparative study of contours and ground-plans, and of the facial appearances of the ramparts and ditches, might suggest important conclusions and stimulate further inquiry; but trenching at the sites and comparison of the results are necessary to ensure a complete comprehension of the subject.[1]

From the positions in which the ramparted enclosures of the Downland are situated, it is possible to group them in three sets; but whether this arrangement was advertently planned is altogether doubtful. The earthworks in or near the coastline may be considered as forming one group; those lying between the coast and the northern face of the South Downs may comprise a second; while a third may include those which directly overlook the Weald. On the other hand, in view of the ancient divisions, the rapes of the county, which lie transversely to the sea-coast, it might be preferable to group the earthworks according to their situation in the rapes.

Passing along the coast from east to west, the following works of importance are met:—On the East Hill at Hastings, Beltout at Beachy Head, and at Seaford Head. The earthworks of the second group, between the sea and the northern escarpments of the

[1] Much assistance in the study of earthworks would be afforded if the available information, for instance, such as appears in the volumes of *The Victoria History of Counties*, were brought together, tabulated and digested.

Downs, comprise White Hawk Castle at Brighton; Hollingbury Castle at Thunder's Barrow; Cissbury; the Trundle, near Goodwood Park; Goosehill Camp, near West Dean; and Highdown Hill, near Arundel. The third group, those upon the edge of the Downland, and, it may be, protecting the hills from the incursions of the wild animals of the Wealden Forest, include Mount Caburn, or "The Kaaburn," as the old inhabitants pronounce it, and its associated earthworks, Ditchling Beacon, Wolstanbury; the Devil's Dyke; that above Edburton; Chanctonbury Ring; and the camp at Burpham, near Arundel. In addition, there are many of minor importance, which are well known, and others which have not been plotted or generally recognised.

From the hill-tops which compose these groups several encampments are usually visible. Thus, to mention an example from the third group, from Ditchling Beacon five or more fortified hill-crests may be counted lying between Brighton on the south, Firle on the east, and Chanctonbury on the west.

The ramparts and ditches as they now exist vary in height and depth from those traceable with difficulty to those, say, at Cissbury and at Caburn, where ramparts stand in succession many feet above the ground.

In the case of the hill-top forts, their constructors evidently utilised for defensive purposes the physical characteristics of the sites. Where precipitous slopes were present the banks were low or altogether absent. When the camp was capable of easy approach along a neighbouring plain, there the ramparts and their ditches were, as a rule, of the most formidable character, sometimes being duplicated and provided with outlying defences. This may be seen in a marked degree at Mount Caburn. A notable exception to this rule occurs in the case of the fort on the adjacent Mill Plain, where, on the precipitous side, ramparts occur; but on the other side, which opens out to the plain, the banks are low.

In order that the besiegers might at all points be exposed to the attack of those behind the ramparts, the height to which the banks were raised appears to have been influenced by the amount of "dead ground" in the immediate vicinity. This protection against dead ground, where the besiegers, while massing, might remain hidden, applies, of course, equally well if the attackers were merely wolves from the great forest of Sussex, and not human enemies. The remains of the camp at the edge of the cliff on Seaford Head illustrates this influence of the conformation of the ground upon the height of the banks. Here, as at Hastings, coast erosion has destroyed those portions which reached the edge of the chalk cliffs, so that the complete ground-plans are unknown. The camp above Edburton, near the Devil's Dyke, is distinguishable by the small area enclosed, and also by the presence of fort-like mounds within the circuit of the rampart. In the case of the fort at Ringmer, near Lewes, probably of this "mount and bailey" type, a mount appears to form a portion of the rampart.

The camps which involve quadrilateral construction, irrespective, to a certain extent, of site, are popularly associated with the Romans, as also those straight-lined ramparts in the valleys near sources of water supply. At Hardham, near Pulborough, there is an example of a quadrilateral camp, situated a few feet only above the level of the river Arun, which flows in its immediate vicinity.

At the entrances to the camps excrescences are usually present which mark forts or bastions. Owing, however, to cross-roads, breaches, and cattle-tracks, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish original defences at the entrances from banks consequent upon later disturbances of the soil.

As regards the purposes to which the camps or enclosures were put, the idea is growing that they constituted defences and places of refuge, not so much

against a human enemy as for the protection of flocks and herds against beasts of prey. In favour of this view it is urged that the protection of the camps against a human enemy would, owing to the large areas which are often enclosed by the ramparts, necessitate garrisons altogether disproportionate to the number of men available. If used as refuges, there would be no continuous occupation, since sheep and cattle during the daytime would be scattered over the hills, and the difficulty which has been raised in respect of the provisioning and the supply of water to the camps would cease to exist. But a glance at the hill-crests is sufficient to show that such positions would be suitable for cattle for a portion of the year only. Without artificial covering on a large scale, which is difficult to imagine, the bleakness of the situations in wet, cold, or windy weather must have been such as to render them, except during the hottest seasons, altogether unfitted for occupation by cattle. The ramparts themselves would not afford the necessary protection, since the hill-tops, as a rule, rise many feet above and overtower the circumvallation. The evidence relating to cattle-shelters is in the direction of situations in the valleys, where the hills afford the needed protection from the keen winds. Those who contend for the hill-tops as cattle-shelters have also to consider the killing of the cattle in the winter, owing to the absence of fodder, down to the times when root-feeding was introduced into this country. No winter cattle, no winter shelter necessary.

Although a camp may have been thrown up for one purpose, it might, on occasion, have been used for another. We may well suppose that successive generations experiencing similar necessities would utilise sites and works of their predecessors, whether they were of native or of alien race. Inability to distinguish the purposes for which the camps were constructed may have fostered the idea that the hill-top enclosures were mere

cattle-shelters. Since, however, the camps satisfy many of the requisites for vigorous defence, it is difficult to suppose that none was originated for military purposes. Daub and wattle and chevaux-de-frise of wood would go far towards repelling onslaught by the most strenuous of foes, and undoubtedly defer capture by direct assault. In some instances the camps were doubtless sufficiently capacious to include, if need be, a village community; in others, the area was only large enough to protect the fighting men of the district.

Owing to their commanding positions, the forts must have occasionally served as signal stations, even if some were not thrown up expressly for that purpose. In modern times, too, beacons are known to have been lighted within the enclosures. Indeed the term "beacon" is applied to a position often in preference to that of "camp" or "castle." It is also, of course, possible, if not probable, that some of the earthworks were constructed in Elizabethan times, and then merely as protections for the beacons against cattle, etc.

As regards the age of the camps, it does not follow that, although they may have been designed as forts, they ante-date the Roman occupation. We may, for instance, imagine King Harold, when taking up his position to meet the Duke of Normandy at Battle, constructing for his soldiers camps such as are now under consideration. According to Wace's account in the *Roman de Rou*, Harold "had the place well examined and surrounded by a good fosse, leaving an entrance on each of three sides, which were ordered to be well guarded." Upon the vallum thus formed his soldiery erected a barricade, composed of their shields and of wood from the adjoining forests, principally ash, the whole being so joined and wattled together as to form an almost impenetrable wall. This extract, which occurs in Lower's comments "On the Battle of Hastings" (6 *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 16-17), might well stand for a description of the construction of a hill-top fort.

Still, as the result of excavation, some camps must be considered to be older than the Roman occupation. Although neoliths and flakes have been dug up in comparative abundance in and near enclosures, and the associated burial-mounds have yielded prolific results by way of cinerary urns and Celtic and Saxon relics, but little light is thrown upon the dates of the ramparts themselves by these discoveries. From excavations which were carried out at Mount Caburn in 1877, the earthworks there would appear to have been constructed in late Celtic times. Horsfield says that in altering the direction of the race-course above Brighton in 1822, it was found necessary to cut through the encampment there present, and that several cinerary urns of different sizes were found, and Roman coins picked up at the same time. On the whole, it is safer to assume that to no one age can the camps be attributed. While some preceded the appearance of the Romans, others probably were thrown up both by and against the Romans during their occupation of Sussex. Others, again, were doubtless of much later origin. The age to which the construction of a camp must be assigned, and also the purpose for which it was formed, is a matter for determination in each particular case.

In looking upon the camps as military strongholds, the problem of the water supply is the great difficulty. Wells are out of the question, considering the great depth to which they would have to be dug. Of catch-pits for surface water there is a little evidence. Dew-ponds are urged as a solution of the difficulty by the Messrs. Hubbard. For instance, immediately outside Ditchling Castle there is the dry bed of a catch-pit, which, of course, was open to the same influences as those which served dew-ponds. M. A. Lower and others, in view of this difficulty concerning water, thought that the camps might have been constructed for religious rather than for military purposes. In some cases,

perhaps, water was forthcoming through outlying forts which, in touch with the main defence, yet overhung sources in the neighbouring bottoms. Castramentation near the water-springs in the valleys is still to be encountered. If, as some hold, the camps were for temporary occupation—a day or two—or were maintained for the folding of sheep and herding of cattle, the absence of water within the enclosures would not greatly militate against their utility, for water would have been always obtainable from the ponds on the hills or from the springs and catch-basins in the adjacent valleys. If, however, the camps were to be indefinitely held against an enemy, the provision of water in the existing circumstances must have been vitally important.

In the hollows and bottoms the earthworks have suffered from weathering and other causes to a larger extent than those in more elevated positions. In many cases it is probable that earthworks have entirely disappeared, or have become, through disturbances in the surface of the soil, incapable of identification. Of course, banks, mounds, and ramparts on regular lines may be caused in various ways, and, fragmentary or almost entire, there are many such in the lower parts of Downland. These remains, although not parts of recognisable plans, yet are strongly suggestive of defensive works.

In some cases the necessity of utilising sites otherwise than for grazing purposes has led to the destruction of camps, both in the valleys and on the hills. In the notable case, however, of Hollingbury Castle, on the Ditchling Road, near Brighton, thanks are due to the inhabitants of Brighton for its preservation as an open space. In former years, however, the northern portion of White Hawk Castle, when the Brighton race-course was projected, and earthworks about a mile to the north, were mutilated when a reservoir was constructed at the spot.

Owing to the limits of knowledge, and the paucity of information concerning the earthworks, and the inability to distinguish the purposes and ages of the respective camps, generalisations are more apt to raise difficulties than to allay them. Although unsafe to dogmatise, it is not unreasonable to hold that some of the camps, when suitably fortified, served as important military forts; while others, as occasion demanded, and particularly when situated in sheltered positions, as in the valleys, were used as refuges for cattle. Some ramparted enclosures were probably designed as signal stations, to which they were so admirably adapted. Where springs were absent, or, when present, could not be protected either by the main fort or by a subsidiary station, water may have been collected in catch-pits or drawn from dew-ponds, or a few days' supply carried. The same causes being at work, from the earliest periods when men came into competition with each other down to the period when civil strife on the Downland ceased, would lead to a selection of commanding positions for similar purposes. Although the earliest camps are referable to the Neolithic Age, yet, when increased in number or strength, according to necessity, they may have been employed as late as the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Ancient Cultivation

By a difference in the colouring or quality of the grass, particularly when viewed at a distance, interference in some way or other with the surface may be suspected. Signs of former cultivation are seen in many of the grass-covered combes where the washings from the hills have, in the course of centuries, thickened the thin crust of soil above the chalk. When cultivation has proceeded for some time, the limits of a patch, which formerly yielded produce, but which for some time has been derelict, are marked by a slight accumulation of soil. In

course of time this accumulation has become covered with grass, and shows itself in low relief. Disturbance of the soil is also to be seen upon the sides of hills, where arable strips have given rise to miniature terraces. Where the plough has been drawn horizontally along the side, the sod was turned down the slope. If the plough returned idle, which seems to have been the practice, a sod at each complete ploughing would be taken from the upper edge of the patch and its equivalent turned over the lower edge. A succession of such ploughings would result in the terraces which are to be encountered at various places. Instead of longitudinal mounds, the darkening of the grass may indicate sites of ditches which for long periods have been filled in with earth, but which formerly drained cultivated patches. Thus the marking in the turf which, in the parish of Glynde, towards Lewes, gives the name "Bible Bottom" to the valley in which it appears, may mark the site of former cultivation. From the neighbouring hills the marking assumes the appearance of an open book with central fold, and is termed locally the "Devil's Bible." Each "leaf" covers about half an acre. Lower spoke of it in the 'sixties as a circumvallation, but now little of the nature of a vallum is to be seen.

Dew-Ponds

"To a thinking mind few phenomena are more strange than the state of little ponds on the summits of chalk-hills, many of which are never dry in the most trying droughts of summer." So says Gilbert White in his thirty-ninth letter to Daines Barrington. During a day's walk many of these phenomena will be witnessed similar in appearance to the ponds in the combes, where the rain-water has collected in the puddled bottoms before it has had time to filter through the chalk. Dew-ponds differ in respect of the absence of

FIG. 1.—DEW POND, NEAR CHANCTONBURY RING.

FIG. 2.—VIEW FROM THE DEVIL'S DYKE.

ordinary means of replenishment. They, moreover, occur on the highest ridges or in those situations where surface drainage is excluded. The ponds vary in size from twenty feet across to seventy feet and upwards, the water in them being at times three feet or more deep. Usually embanked above the ordinary water-level, they are rarely brimful. Of recent years much speculation has arisen with respect to the source from which these miniature reservoirs draw their supplies, since the water in them continues for some time during dry weather and in spite of periodic partial exhaustion by sheep and cattle.

Although often called "dew-ponds," their replenishment may be due to other causes than dew. Mists, for instance, as they drive over the tops of the hills, must, by depositing their moisture, aid in supplementing their charges. In particular, where overhanging trees are present, drippings would seem to have a considerable effect. Possibly the more correct designation is "mist-ponds." A time, however, is reached when the dew-pond dries up and the supply, temporarily or permanently, comes to an end. Many of these dry beds are to be seen covered in vegetation. In many instances ponds do not survive a summer's drought.

The age of the ponds and the method of their construction have also recently attracted attention, and upon this the last word still remains to be said. Four methods of construction and theories to account for their natural replenishment have been described by Mr. E. A. Martin, F.G.S. (*Knowledge and Scientific News*, 1907). According to each of these methods, straw is laid on the bed of a pond. In two instances the bulk of the water is separated from the straw by pervious media, such as rubble and broken chalk. In the other two cases concrete and clay intervene. In addition to ponds constructed in this manner, there are numerous examples, both on the hills and in the valleys of Downland, of ponds with

their saucer-shaped beds, formed of a grouting of cement upon a layer of flints. In other examples clay is employed, the clay being puddled by the tramp of oxen. In each case care is taken to prevent leakage through the bed, while endeavours are made to supplement the supply by dew or mist by surface drainage.

As regards their age or when they were first constructed, we are upon less sure ground. As the Messrs. Hubbard, who have raised this enticing question, point out (*Neolithic Dew-ponds and Cattle-ways*), the contiguity of dew-ponds to earthworks lends colour to the supposition that the earthworks and the ponds formed part of a system, and were often, perhaps, constructed simultaneously. If the earthworks were merely cattle refuges, the ponds would be formed for the use of the herds there collected. The proof of this theory, if it may be so called, is, however, not convincing. Doubtless the many workers in this out-of-door branch of nature-study will at length evolve a working theory which will go some way towards harmonizing and explaining the facts as we have them.

The most obvious method of establishing the facts of this special study has not been prolific of results. It should not be difficult to secure dew-ponds on the Downs for scientific investigation, and to continue research such as that carried on by Mr. Slade in the "seventies." Daily exhaustion and nightly replenishment, evaporation and rainfall, could then be noted, meteorological observations at the same time being carried out. In the presence of facts adduced in this manner, speculation which at present so largely obtains would be excluded.

Draught Oxen

The picturesque sight of teams of oxen engaged in agriculture, whether at the plough, or at the harrow, or attached to the harvest-wagon, may still be enjoyed here

A Team of Sussex Oxen.

and there in the Down country. Until recent years oxen were in fairly common use, and one has only to hark back to less than a hundred years for a time when farming operations were conducted almost entirely by their aid, and horses were rare.

An aged informant recently narrated how her father, when a boy, refused to work with the horses to which he had been transferred from the ox-stall, his reason being "that the horses made his clothes smell so." Her father also remembered the squire proceeding to church drawn by six or eight oxen—a number necessitated by the state of the roads—and giving the parishioners a "lift" on their way to divine service.

The oxen are broken in for work at two years of age, and are worked in pairs under such names as Duke and Diamond, Pert and Lively, Quick and Nimble, Wag and Wanton. The guiding of the teams, as they plod along at their two-miles-an-hour rate, requires more than the mere novice's art. With no bit and, as a rule, no reins, the ox-man being armed merely with a goad of hazel tipped with a sharpened wire, the cattle readily respond to the directions of their driver, whether turning at the headlands or ploughing on the straight. In some parts of the county the ordinary horse-carter's whip is used in place of the goad. The ox-man or ox-carter is assisted by the ox-boy, who is paid from five shillings to seven shillings per week, the wages of the man varying from seventeen shillings to twenty shillings. The yoke which spans the necks of a pair of oxen is made of willow, which is preferred on account of its lightness, but ash and other woods are also used. The bow that encircles the neck and passes through the yoke is of ash. The yokes are connected by a central chain, the end of which is secured to the plough or other farm implement. When the team is attached to a cart or wagon, a pole or "neb" is employed instead of a chain. The value of a pair of oxen varies from £35 to £45, but on occasion much

higher prices are obtained. One to three pairs are employed at a time, according to the work to be done. A good team will plough from three-quarters of an acre to one acre per day. After injudicious feeding upon green food, so that the life of an ox is imperilled by the accumulation of gases within its body, the ox is stabbed, to allow of the escape of the gases. If, after a year's trial, an ox proves to be a poor worker, he is fattened and sold to the butcher, and is considered to provide beef of exceptionally good flavour.

Where oxen are made to work, their cloven hoofs necessarily require careful attention. Some years ago the shoeing of the draught oxen at Patcham, three miles from Brighton, was periodically to be seen. An iron plate was secured by nails on each half of the hoof, to which the plate was shaped. To effect this operation the legs of the animal were tied by a rope and drawn together, so that it could easily be thrown on its side. The legs were then raised and the feet, pointing upwards, were held fast by a tripod. In this position the plates were fastened on. From a model exhibited in the Indian Section of the Museum at South Kensington, it appears that the natives of Bengal shoe their plough oxen in substantially the same manner.

The Wilmington Giant

The colossal figure which is outlined on the hill-side above Wilmington arrests the attention of passengers on the railway line or the highway between Lewes and Eastbourne. The outline roughly represents a human figure, which is known as "The Long Man," or "The Wilmington Giant." It measures some 240 feet in length, and appears with its arms outstretched, each arm holding a staff parallel to the body.

Its origin and the person it is intended to represent are altogether unknown. Some have ascribed the outline

to Saxon times or earlier as commemorative of a battle-field. Others have considered it symbolic in Druidic ritual or representative of a Pagan god opening the gates to Valhalla. Horsfield and Lower agreed in thinking it probably the work of mediæval monks from the priory in the plain below. Absence of notice concerning it somewhat justifies suspicion of its antiquity, since so prominent an object could, if present, scarcely have been passed unnoticed. The outline was probably formed by cutting away the turf and leaving the chalk exposed or by filling the cutting with chalk. Although subjected to periodic "scourings," the figure was often obscured by vegetation. The outline is now paved, and as recently as the summer of 1907 it was cleaned. Some regret has been expressed at the paving, since, among other objections, it is urged that if the present outline incorrectly followed the original, the original is virtually obliterated. It is said that after a slight sprinkle of snow the head, even now, appears of nearly twice its present length, while, in addition, some ill-defined marks present themselves at the upper end of the staves.

The Burrell Manuscripts, now in the British Museum, show the "Long Man" with adornments in these positions. The weather-wise of the Weald, who base their prognostications on the atmospheric conditions on the hills, say—

> When Firle Hill and Long Man has a cap
> We at A'ston [Alciston] gets a drap.

Smuggling

No sketch of the Downland, however slight, can properly omit allusion to the smuggling in which our coast-dwelling grandparents periodically indulged. It is clear that in many instances smuggling was regarded as the satisfaction merely of a sporting instinct, an interest in a "run" being looked upon as scarcely more censurable than a present-day share in a Derby "sweep."

The roads, slypes, and bostals over the hills teem with reminiscences. Many of the tales concerning smugglers and their deeds of daring may still be gathered from the folk, even by strangers, provided that tact be employed. Less than sixty years ago the rector of a sequestered village, while proceeding homeward at a late hour, passed, in the main street of a neighbouring hamlet, a funeral hearse with attendants and the usual panoply of woe. Struck with the extraordinary character of the procession and the time chosen for such a display, he asked for an explanation, but no answer was forthcoming. On the morrow he enquired of one of the mutes, whom he had recognized, the reason for the funeral at such an hour. Old M—— then narrated how the party had been conveying over the hills from Cuckmere Haven a load of Hollands which had been safely brought ashore, and that the silence which met the rector's question was due to the promise that each had made to speak to no person whatever while engaged on the enterprise.

In a quiet parish church there is still pointed out an altar-tomb which, by those in the "know," was convertible into a receptacle for smuggled goods, and this without the knowledge of the worthy divine who weekly officiated there. "Open sesame" no longer avails, for the slab, which was turned to obtain access to the interior of the tomb, has been permanently secured.

An old lady, recently deceased, used to speak in awed tones when mentioning the names of the smugglers of former times. Possibly she thought that they might yet be made to account for their exploits if their names were spread abroad. When children, she and her sister, on the approach of revenue officers, were once hurriedly sent to bed in the daytime above a couple of kegs containing spirit. On the officers appearing at the bedroom when searching the house, they were informed that the children were suffering from scarlet fever. The spirits remained unmolested.

The last hoard of fifty guineas which the old lady's mother had industriously saved was taken to assist in the purchase of a cargo which was to be run ashore on the next dark night. The mother herself, when a young child, caused consternation to her parents by narrating how she had opened a farm gate for the convenience of the "Hawkhurst gang." It was considered a matter of congratulation that this gang of ruffians, who ended their career by violent deaths, had left the child unmolested. The same old lady used also to narrate how a relative of hers by marriage had been cured of his sporting propensities through the drowning of his companions. When chased while carrying kegs on their shoulders, the party plunged into the Military Canal of East Sussex, and on gaining the opposite bank and reaching the hills beyond, the relative in question discovered the loss of his companions. This so much impressed him that he foreswore the pursuit, and, as he used to repeat to his friends, "he would go smuggling no more, for God had graciously spared his life."

The kegs formerly used by smugglers were of such sizes and shapes as to be capable of easy carriage and support upon the breast and back. They were suspended from the neck, a strap round the waist retaining them in position.

At length Bow Street runners, who used their firearms without compunction, came to be employed, and smuggling in consequence degenerated into a fatal pursuit, so that the more circumspect of the coast-dwellers gave up the habit. The practice of smuggling thereupon fell into abeyance.

. . . . . .

The slight sketch of the Downland which has here been drawn will have effected its purpose if it but helps to direct attention to the possibilities of enjoyment with which the Sussex hills abound, and suggests that there are problems for the studious which, still awaiting solution, an investigation of the district discloses.

THE FORESTS OF SUSSEX

By the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

ALMOST the whole of Sussex, in the earliest historic days, was covered by a wide-stretching forest, which swept over into the adjoining territories of Surrey and Kent. From its vast extent, the Britons called it Coit Andred. The Roman itineraries termed this great wood Anderida Silva. When the four Saxon chieftains landed on the Bill of Selsea, at the beginning of their adventures, in the year 477, the *Chronicle* tells us that they slew many of the Welsh or Romanised Britons in storming the fortress of Chichester, but drove the rest into the wood called Andredeslea.

By degrees the Saxons overran the county, clustering thickly on the strip of coast below the downs. But in the great wooded Weald they settled but sparingly. The terminations of their place-names in this district, as has been pointed out by Mr. Grant Allen, such as *field*, *hurst*, *ley*, and *den*, show that these minor settlements were of the nature of clearings for hunters and swine-herds within a vast wooded area, rather than the *hams* or the *tuns* of the more regular colonies or groups of homesteads.

A very considerable portion of Sussex remained forest, according to the modern acceptation of the word, or, at all events, wild and unenclosed for some centuries —a portion, indeed, until the present time—and was known as the Forest Ridge. It formed the elevated

district of the north-eastern part of the county, and stretched in a north-westerly direction along the borders of Surrey. The principal sections of this are still known as the forests of St. Leonard and Ashdown.

Young, in his *Agricultural Survey*, at the end of the eighteenth century, wrote:—

> A great proportion of these hills is nothing better than the poorest barren sand, the vegetable covering consisting of ferns, heath, etc. St. Leonard's Forest contains 10,000 acres of it, and Ashdown 18,000 more, besides many thousand acres in various other parts of the county.

Although in the particular case of the huge wood of Anderida there can be no doubt that an immense extent of Sussex was covered in early days with actual primeval timber and undergrowth, it must always be borne in mind that the old term "forest" did not imply, etymologically or otherwise, a great wood (which has gradually grown to be its modern meaning), but merely a wild open district reserved for the kingly sport of hunting, and subject to its own peculiar laws and administration. As Anderida gradually got broken up, the two great districts of Ashdown and St. Leonard, together with the minor one of Arundel in the south-east of the county, were the portions reserved for hunting by the later Saxon and earlier Norman kings; they were thus maintained, to a great extent, by their successors, or by great lords, for several centuries. Each of these three "forest" districts included moors, heathlands, or open stretches, as well as the great woods and smaller coppices that formed excellent coverts for game.

Ashdown forest is described by Mr. Turner, in a comprehensive paper in the collections of the Sussex Archæological Society which appeared in 1862, as then consisting of about 10,000 acres, situated in the parishes of Maresfield, Fletching, East Grinstead, Hartfield, Withyham, and Buxted. The exact date when, in the course of increasing cultivation, Ashdown became separated from the great forest districts of Anderida

cannot now be ascertained. We have the authority of Bede that this primeval forest remained entire, save for isolated clearings, throughout the Saxon as well as the Roman periods. Bede describes it, in the eighth century, as thick and an almost inaccessible place of retreat for great herds of deer, and well stocked with swine. The *Saxon Chronicle* states that the dimensions of Anderida forest were, in 893, one hundred and twenty miles in length from east to west, and thirty miles in breadth from north to south. Such measurements show that it must then have embraced almost the whole of what is now known as the Wealds of the three counties of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey.

At the time when Ashdown appears on extant records as a separate forest district, it formed part of the honor of Pevensey, and from the year 1268 it was vested in the Crown in perpetuity; it therefore follows that it became from that date a technical forest, subject to special laws administered by forest officials.

In 1371 the honor of Pevensey was granted by Edward III. to his third son, John of Gaunt, in exchange for the earldom of Richmond. In this grant the free-chase of Ashdown, with all its rights and liberties, is specially included. It reverted, however, to the Crown, with the rest of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the next century, and so ceased to be a chase (a subject could not hold a forest under forest laws), and became again a royal forest.

Various Tudor commissions show that the timber of Ashdown suffered severely from the inroads made on it to supply charcoal for the iron foundries. This was specially the case in the days of Elizabeth. The enclosures or parks in Ashdown forest were, as is known from records, numerous, and on a large scale, as early as the thirteenth century. In Horsfield's history of the county it is stated that about 13,000 acres had been enclosed by various monarchs from time immemorial

for the better preservation of both deer and timber. At the beginning of the Commonwealth disturbances in 1641-2, the red and fallow deer were killed, the woods wasted, fences thrown down, and the lodges ruined. At the Restoration, Charles II. granted the forest to the Earl of Bristol for ninety-nine years at a rental of £200 a year, with power to divide and enclose at pleasure. By the irregular action of letters patent, the King waived his forest rights. This method of procedure led to endless disputes, and hedges and fences were constantly being destroyed by the customary tenants. At length, in 1692, the district was formally disafforested, and 6,400 acres were allotted to the customary tenants in satisfaction of their respective claims.

St. Leonard's forest lies north-east of Horsham, and forms part of the great parish of Beeding. It would have been more correct if this district had retained the name of chace rather than forest, for it is doubtful if it was ever technically a royal forest from the time of the Norman Conquest, and, evidently, the whole body of forest law never prevailed here. It was granted in early days to the great family of Braose, lords of Bramber. Within the precincts of this forest were the two parks of Beaubush and Shelley, both belonging to the lords of Bramber; they were disparked in the reign of Elizabeth. These parks lay on the north-east side of the forest, and had a joint acreage of 1,300 acres. St. Leonard's forest was the chief seat of the old Sussex ironworks, and their abandonment was caused by the exhaustion of the wood by which the ore was smelted. One of the earliest recorded entries as to the timber of this district was an order of King John, in 1214, for a supply to be sent for navy purposes to Dover.

The forest of Arundel, surrounding the castle, though of limited extent, was well stocked with deer, and formed an important adjunct to the honor of that name. The forest pertained to the earls of Arundel, as is stated in

the Close Rolls for 1206, when King John made a requisition on the timber for building ships for his men-at-arms. During a long minority in the time of Henry III., and again in the reign of Edward I., it reverted to the Crown.

But little has yet been accomplished in the way of a real history of the forests of Sussex, and to pursue the subject thoroughly would require the whole of the present volume, for the material is superabundant. All that can be done in this limited space is to give a few hitherto almost unknown facts as to their history from original records.

The entries on the Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III. contain numerous references to the subject. The following are among the entries for the year 1233-4. Peter de Ryvall, in whose person a vast number of official positions were concentrated, including those of treasurer and chamberlain of Ireland for life, held, for a time, the wardenship of all the forests of Sussex. On 10th April, 1233, the King's precept was dispatched, ordering Peter de Ryvall, as warden, to supply Peter Fitzherbert with five roe-deer out of this Sussex forest. In the following August, Peter de Ryvall was ordered to supply William de St. John with a hart and three bucks out of the same forest, as of the King's gift. These two entries suffice to show that red, fallow, and roe-deer were all to be found in the Arundel district. An interesting entry of June, 1234, records a mandate to the Sheriff of Sussex not to permit the taking of any timber from the forest of Ashdown, either as the gift of Peter de Ryvall or as purchased from him or from anyone else; he was, however, to allow the bailiffs of the Bishop of Chichester to carry from that forest, freely and without impediment, whatever timber they desired to have for the works of the cathedral church of Chichester. At the same date the Sheriff of Sussex received a like mandate to prevent Peter from giving or selling any

Arundel Park.

timber out of the forest of St. Leonard, but to allow the bailiffs of the Bishop of Winchester to take sufficient timber for the works of the hospital of Portsmouth.

Later in the same year, Henry III. confirmed a grant to the abbey of Fécamp, in France, of five bucks and five does annually out of the forest of St. Leonard. Robert le Savage, who was then warden of the forests of Ashdown and St. Leonard, was ordered to supply to the Archbishop of Canterbury seven bucks out of the latter forest and three harts out of the former.

When the King was at Odiham, on 23rd August, 1234, he made further provision for the needs of the cathedral church of Chichester by a special gift of fifty oaks out of the woods of the forest of St. Leonard.

The entries on the Close Rolls, at the beginning of the reign of Edward I., as to the comparatively small forest of Arundel, are exceptionally numerous. In July, 1273, Robert Aguillon, keeper of the lands pertaining to John Fitzalan, was ordered to cause Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, to have thirteen bucks, then in season, in the same way as Boniface, the late archbishop, was wont to receive such bucks during his lifetime, in accordance with the composition made between Boniface and John, as tenant-in-chief, for twenty-six fallow-deer yearly out of John's forest of Arundel, to be taken by John and delivered at the archbishop's manor of Slindon. Thirteen does had to be delivered in the winter. This entry refers to one of the chief points of interest in connection with Arundel forest, namely, the disputes between the earls of Arundel and the Archbishops of Canterbury, the latter claiming that they had chartered privileges of hunting. There was actually an appeal to Rome on this subject in 1238, and it was not until twenty years later that the reopened disputes on this subject were finally settled by an agreement that the primate might, on giving previous notice to the forest ministers, hunt, or rather, course once a year when going to or

returning from his neighbouring manor of Slindon, but only on two conditions. One of the stipulations was that the hunting was to be done by six greyhounds and by no other kind of dogs, bows and arrows being also strictly prohibited; the other stipulation provided that, if more than one beast was run down by the party, the remainder were to be handed over to the lord. This agreement also included the handsome proviso that the archbishop was to be provided with thirteen Arundel bucks and the same number of does in their proper season. The royal confirmation of Edward I. was dated 1276, but in 1366 Archbishop Islip secured the commutation of this great supply of venison for a money payment.

Arundel, however, remained for some time technically a forest, that is, a stretch of country the game and timber of which were reserved to the King, notwithstanding concessions to the primate and others. Thus in August, 1275, the King ordered the keeper of his forest of Arundel to supply Stephen de Penchester with four bucks. In the following year the King's steward, Ralph de Sandwich, was ordered to cause dry wood in the forest to be sold to the value of twenty marks where it might be done with the least damage to the forest, and to expend the money in repairing the houses pertaining to the King's castle of Arundel. In 1277 Roger de Hemenhal, the keeper of Arundel forest, was ordered to sell underwood and dry wood to the amount of £20, the money to be used in similar repairs. The keeper in 1299 received the royal command to supply Roger de Clifford, the younger, with two does out of Arundel forest, and Isabel, Roger's wife, with one doe.

During part of the reign of Edward I., the sporting rights of Ashdown forest, including the warren, were held by the King's mother. In 1283 proceedings were taken against divers persons for hunting and carrying away both deer and rabbits from the Queen's park at Maresfield. In 1297 Edward granted Thomas Paynel

a life licence to hunt, with his own dogs, throughout the forest of Ashdown, the fox, the hare, the wild cat, and the badger, save during the fence month; the licence also provided that he was never to hunt deer, nor was he even to course in the King's warren.

A great amount of further evidence relative to Sussex forests can be obtained from the large number of Ministers' Accounts at the Public Record Office, both of the general series and of those pertaining to the Duchy of Lancaster. Brief extracts are given from a few of these, as examples of what may be found. The Pevensey bailiffs' roll of Michaelmas 19 Edward I. to Michaelmas 20 Edward I. includes a membrane giving the account of Ashdown forest (*Foresta de Essesdoun*). The agistment fees paid for ninety-six animals feeding in the forest amounted to 48s., whilst the customary pannage fees reached the sum of 23s. 10d. The expenses that year were considerable, and were chiefly incurred in repairing the pales, walls, and ditches of different parts of the forest that were inclosed. These expenses amounted to £8 2s. 4d. In the wage return a man was paid a penny a day, and a man and horse fourpence.

The return made by divers Sussex ministers for 4-5 Richard II. includes the accounts of Ashdown forest, divided into the three sections of South Ward, West Ward, and Coteresley Ward. In the first of these wards, John Hyndale, forester, accounted for 29s. 2d. for the agistment of animals, 9s. 3d. from attachment of wood, 33s. 0½d. for pannage of swine called "Evesfold," and 40s. for pannage of acorns (*ad glandes*). The court fees and fines of the woodmote of this ward amounted to 23d. The total receipts were £4 18s. The expenses included the wage of one forester at a penny a day, 33s. 4d.; a forester's work was everywhere reckoned at seven days, for he was supposed to be always on duty; certain perquisites invariably pertained to the office in addition to the wage. Very similar entries occur in

connection with the two other wards. In each of the wards "Evesfold" is mentioned, for which a second or assistant forester was required at the pannage season. Another feature common to the accounts of each ward is that there are special agistment entries for "leptyme," a term which we have not met with in other forest accounts, but which scarcely demands an explanation.

The roll of divers Sussex ministers for 17-18 Henry VI. also subdivides the forest of Ashdown into the three wards just named. The receipts of John Stydolf, forester of the South Ward, included 12s. 6d. from customary fees collected by John Marshall; 11s. 2d. from fines and agistment of animals, 20d. from agistments *tempore leptyme*, 5s. 2d. from the fines of the woodmote, and 5s. 10d. from the pannage of foreign pigs called "Evysfold." Here again this term Evesfold, or Evysfold, occurs in each ward. So far it has eluded any satisfactory explanation. Probably the circulation of this term among Sussex folk may produce the true meaning. It refers to some form of pannage contrasted with that of acorns, and the fees were collected at Martinmas. In connection with this Evesfold pannage, mention is again made, under expenses, of the employment for a time of a second or temporary forester; the regular forester and the temporary one each received 2s. 4d. for their work—whatever it was—during this Evysfold pannage season.

From the fragment of a Sussex Receiver-General's account, dealing with payments made by the accountant, 11-12 Edward IV., we learn that there was an annual payment of 20s. made to the woodward of the lord's woods within the forest of St. Leonard. It must not be omitted to mention, with regard to St. Leonard, that an entry on the Patent Rolls of September, 1295, relative to a raid in this district on deer, hares, rabbits, pheasants, herons, and fish, when the owner was absent on the King's service in Wales, styles it the free chace of William

Braose, called the forest of St. Leonard (*liberam chaciam Willelmi de Brewosa que vocatur foresta Sancti Leonardi*).

There are two other districts of this county, both of limited area, still known as forests, namely, Charlton forest, an old hunting seat to the north of Chichester, and Waterdown forest, of which the present wild and beautiful park of the Marquess of Abergavenny forms part. Doubtless both districts were originally limbs of Anderida.

There is much interesting information, pleasantly condensed, as to the old and modern parks of the county, which are, for the most part, nobly wooded and well stocked with deer, in Evelyn Shirley's *Deer and Deer Parks*, published in 1867. The Archbishop of Canterbury had two ancient parks in Sussex: the one at Slindon, near Arundel; the other at Mayfield, near Ashdown forest.

SAXON ARCHITECTURE

By J. Tavenor-Perry

THE remains of Saxon architecture to be found in the county of Sussex, although very numerous and widely scattered, are lacking in the beauty and importance of many to be found in other parts of the country; but they are, nevertheless, possessed of a character of their own, due to the circumstances of the occupation of the district and to its physical surroundings, which invest them with an exceptional interest. Although the settlement of the South Saxons was one of the earliest made on our coasts by the invaders, the smallness of its area and the circumscribed limits within which it was confined made it one of the least important, and for long prevented it from participating in the benefits which other settlements received through the introduction of Christianity by the Irish and British missionaries in the North, and in the South by those from Rome. At the same time this isolation prevented it from sharing, to any great extent, in the domestic quarrels of the invaders; and, except in connection with Wessex, comparatively few facts concerning its history are recorded in the early chronicles. For much the same reason it was spared a great deal of the misery with which other parts of the country were afflicted from the incursions of the Danes; and, save for a few raids along the coast, which were generally repulsed, and one straggling incursion on the northern borders, the settlement had suffered but little

from these rovers when Canute became King of the whole country and compelled peace throughout his realm.

The conquest of Sussex by the Saxons occupied but a short time from the landing of Ella and his sons, as the fall of the city of Anderida thirteen years afterwards gave them possession of the whole of the district south of the Downs and the stretch of coast-line eastward to the Romney marshes. Within this small area of country the kingdom of the South Saxons was always confined, as the marshes at the east end quite cut it off from communication with the earlier settlements of Kent, and the almost impenetrable forest which stretched along its northern frontier separated it from the Mid-Saxon kingdoms. Here for nearly two hundred years they continued to practise the rites and hold the creeds of their heathen ancestors, ignorant or regardless of the Christian faith which was spreading around them, and content, during all that period, to occupy the ruins of the Roman buildings left in the two great cities of Regnum and Anderida or of the villas scattered about the country, or else of such mean buildings of wood and thatch as they were themselves capable of building; and it was not until after the advent of the Christian missionaries and the necessity for churches arose that the first building operations were commenced. Some time about 635, Dicul, a priest who had lived for a time with St. Fursey in his monastery at Burgh, settled at Bosham with five or six companions, apparently selecting the place on account of its remoteness and seclusion, suitable rather for a hermitage than as a centre for missionary effort. As a Scot, Dicul was, perhaps, not sound on the question of the Easter observance, which may account for Bede's somewhat apologetic notice of the settlement; but it was so far important that it must have led to the erection of some buildings, among which would have been most certainly a church. What the plan of this first Sussex church may have been it is impossible now to say, except

that as it was erected by a British missionary uninfluenced by Roman traditions it would most likely have taken the form generally found in Celtic oratories.

When St. Wilfrid, for a second time, came to Sussex in 681, he found King Adelwach and his Queen were already Christians, which was due, perhaps, remotely to the influence of Dicul and his companions. But their subjects still followed their heathen customs; and the King gave the bishop some land at Selsey on which to found a monastery. Wilfrid was skilled in the arts of architecture so far as their principles were then understood, and had visited Rome more than once; but he had been reared in the North, and was the companion of the celebrated Benedict Biscop, so that his work at Selsey would doubtless conform to Celtic traditions, and the plan of his church be of that simplest form of a nave and chancel with a square east end. A comparison between the well-known example of a British church still standing at St. Gwythian in Cornwall and many of these remaining in Sussex will show the permanence of the type. Such are, or were before alteration, the churches of Arlington, Clayton, Ford, Friston, Ovingdean, Rumboldswyke, Selham, and West Hampnett, which are all alike in plan, although they differ in proportion and scale. The arrangement of this plan was simple in the extreme. The nave was a parallelogram twice its width in length, with a chancel beyond of the same shape but smaller and shorter in proportion. The British example from St. Gwythian has a nave 31 feet by 16 feet and a chancel 15 feet by 12 feet. The church in Sussex most nearly of this size is Ovingdean, with a nave 34 feet by 17 feet 6 inches, and chancel 19 feet by 14 feet, while that of Selham is still smaller, having a nave 25 feet by 14 feet, and a chancel only 13 feet by 11 feet. But most of the churches mentioned much exceed these in dimensions, as that of Ford, which has a nave 42 feet by 22 feet, and a chancel 22 feet by 15 feet; whilst the, perhaps, very

FIG. 1.—WEST TOWER, SINGLETON.

late church at Lyminster has a nave over 63 feet long by 21 feet wide, and a chancel 46 feet long and 14 feet 6 inches wide.

The foundation of most of these churches must belong to the period of two hundred and fifty years following the preaching of St. Wilfrid, since the wide-spread belief of Christendom during the latter half of the tenth century that the end of the world was approaching, together with the alarms of the Danish invaders, put a stop to all church building; but when the dreaded period had passed, and all fear of invasion had vanished with the settlement of the kingdom under Canute, building activity was resumed, and from that date until the Norman Conquest considerable works were executed in the rebuilding of the older churches or the erection of new ones. To this period may be assigned the church of Arlington, which apparently was erected on the ruins of an earlier one destroyed or damaged by fire; and the church of Lyminster may have been at the same time reconstructed or enlarged, the peculiar and lofty chancel arch being a record of these alterations. To the same time may also be assigned the churches of Woolbeding and Sompting, as well as the exceptional and un-Celtic church of Worth.

Of the fabric of these early churches much of the original walling, no doubt, remains intact, but it is in so fragmentary and damaged a condition that few satisfactory indications of date have survived. Long-and-short work, herring-bone courses of brick or masonry, and many other details of supposed Saxon origin, are in themselves insufficient to suggest any particular period, while the theory that the earliest work is shown by the largest use of brickwork is no certain guide. Mr. Gordon Hills, in comparing the two churches of West Hampnett and Rumboldswyke, considered the former church the older on account of the abundance of Roman material found in it, which had become much more scarce when the latter was erected. But while this may hold good for a comparison

between two neighbouring buildings, it becomes misleading in such a case as the church of Arlington, where in the small south window and elsewhere there is a considerable amount of brick used, although the building is quite late in date. Where any of the ancient walls of these earlier churches still remain it can be seen that they were built of any materials which were available, and carried out in so unskilled a manner as to give but little clue to the date of their erection; and we have to look to the doorways, the windows, and other such details before we can assign any particular period to the edifices.

The tower appears to have been regarded as an unessential feature in these early Sussex churches, and, although one or two may have been entirely destroyed or reconstructed of different materials at a later date, three only can be mentioned as undoubtedly erected in Saxon times—those of Bosham, Singleton (fig. 1), and Sompting (fig. 2); while three others—those of Jevington, Bishopstone, and East Dean Orientalis—have sometimes been placed in the same category. There seems to be but little doubt that the first Saxon church towers, like those of Rome and Ravenna, were erected purely for defensive purposes, without, at least primarily, any ecclesiastical significance or use; and we may assign the date of the earliest ones to the period of the Danish raids. These towers were built without any external doorways, but connected by a wide, arched opening with the nave of the church; and this was so both at Bosham and Sompting, the arch in the latter case being treated decoratively, while at Singleton the arch has been reconstructed at a later date. On the second stage of the towers there seems to have been a chamber, possibly for the residence of a priest, to which access was obtained by a movable ladder through a doorway which opened into the nave above the tower arch. Both at Bosham and Singleton these doorways remain, formed with straight-sided arches, and the doorway of the former

has beside it a small loophole, or squint, through which the occupant of the chamber could view the church. No architectural effects were aimed at in the erection of these towers; with the possible exception of Sompting, the walls were left plain and unbuttressed, and the openings disposed only for convenience, and they lack altogether the rich, though rude, decoration of such towers as Earlsbarton and Barnack, and many others in the Midlands. An attempt was made at Sompting to introduce some decorative effect in the imitation of a classic dentil course, which shows on the south side of the lower stage of the tower, as well as in the treatment of the strip-work and belfry lights in the upper storeys.

The strip-work or pilaster decoration, which is found as well on the tower of Sompting as on the naves of Woolbeding and Worth, is a well-known form of ornament common in, and by many regarded as characteristic of, the Saxon architecture of this country, and various theories as to its origin and intention have been propounded; but it is nothing more than the debased form of the classic pilasters with which the early Romanesque buildings of the Continent were decorated, and with which Saxon travellers between Rome and England had become familiar in North Italy. But as the origin of the ornament was unknown or forgotten, it was applied to the walls of the churches in a meaningless manner; and both at Woolbeding and Worth it is unevenly spaced and of varying widths, being, in the former case, sometimes as narrow as six inches in width. Another feature in these towers, of which Sompting affords one of the best examples in this country, is the arrangement of the belfry windows. In this case those of the upper stage are grouped in two pairs, and, apart from their smaller details, are identical with those of the well-known Roman campanili of St. Alessio on the Aventine and SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelian. The arrangement of the midwall shaft, with its corbel capital, which we have at Sompting,

FIG. 2.—SOMPTING CHURCH.

although occasionally found in Germany, was only common in Rome; and this peculiar feature, which was so marked in the ancient bell-tower of St. Peter's as well as in the Saxons' own church of St. Michele in Sassia near by, was copied in the English towers, and became a distinguishing feature of Saxon architecture.

The towers of Bishopstone and Jevington are placed at the west end of the naves, in the position usual to Saxon towers, and they have many features in common with them, such as the absence of buttresses and external doorways. Jevington has been very much restored, but there seem to be remains of baluster shafts in the belfry windows which, with other vestiges found in the church, would suggest that this tower is in the main Saxon. The Norman influence is more marked in the tower of Bishopstone, particularly in the corbel-table, the windows, and the finishing of the quoins; and both this and the tower of East Dean may have been Norman restorations of original Saxon towers. The East Dean tower does not occupy the usual position at the west end of the nave, but stands on the north side, and it has been, perhaps, a north porch and chapel, as the remains of an apsidal projection on its eastern face were discovered some years ago. Large porches built at the sides of the nave are occasionally met with in Saxon work, and there is a particularly fine one standing on the south side of the nave at Bishopstone, which is the most ancient part of the church remaining. The door from it into the church is not central, but a larger space has been left on the east side for, it has been suggested, an altar. The quoins of the porch are built of large stones arranged as long-and-short work, and over the entrance, which has been covered by a later Norman doorway, is a Saxon sundial inscribed with the name EADRIC.

A large number of Saxon doorways remain in a more or less perfect condition, many of them still in use in various parts of the county. The following are the

principal ones, but others may still be found in a fragmentary condition: Bolney, Bosham, Friston, Hangleton, Horsted-Keynes, Lewes St. John-sub-Castro, Lurgashall, Lyminster, Old Shoreham, Selham, Slaugham, Stopham, Wivelsfield, and Worth. One of the most noticeable features in these Saxon doorways, apart from other details, is their narrowness in comparison with their height, so different from the square and squat Norman door which

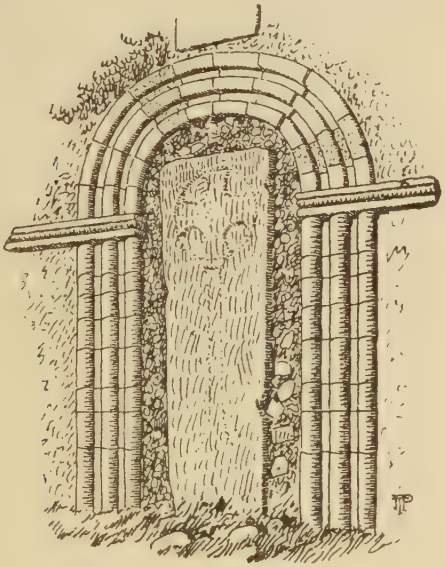

FIG. 3.—DOORWAY, ST. JOHN-SUB-CASTRO, LEWES.

succeeded them. There is a good example of this on the south side of the nave of Lyminster church, where a transitional Norman door has been inserted in place of a Saxon one, which still shows its upper part and arch rising above the less graceful insertion. Most of the doorways mentioned above are of the simplest form, with unmoulded arches and rudely-shaped imposts, such as, for instance, the stopped-up doorway north of the nave of Worth and the doorway at Horsted-Keynes, which was removed when

the north aisle was built and set up again in the outer wall. But some of the doorways are moulded and more highly finished, like the north and south doors of Stopham, where the imposts rest on some curiously-moulded angle shafts. The doorway removed from the destroyed church of St. John-sub-Castro at Lewes and fixed against the east end of the modern structure is remarkably rich,

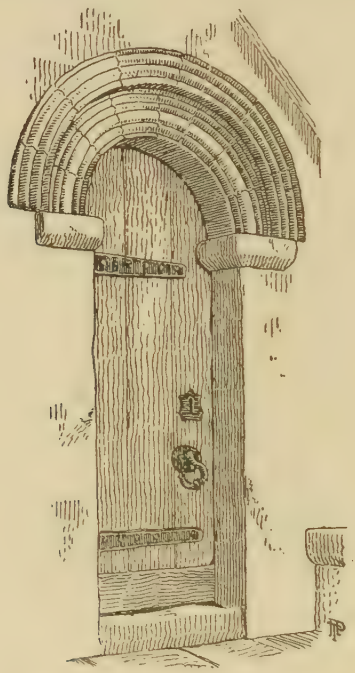

FIG. 4.—SOUTH DOOR, BOLNEY.

not only having the arch and imposts moulded, but the jambs enriched on each side with three rolls which seem intended to represent shafts (fig. 3). Perhaps the most finished doorways to be found in the county are those of Bolney and Wivelsfield, which are so similar in design and treatment as to suggest that they are the work of the same mason. That of Bolney (fig. 4) stands on the

south side of the nave in the position it always occupied, but that of Wivelsfield (fig. 5) was removed a few years ago, when a new aisle was built to the church, and it was reset in the outer north wall. The decoration is confined to the arches, which spring from plainly chamfered imposts, and are arranged in two orders, like the south door of Barnack, but much more gracefully moulded.

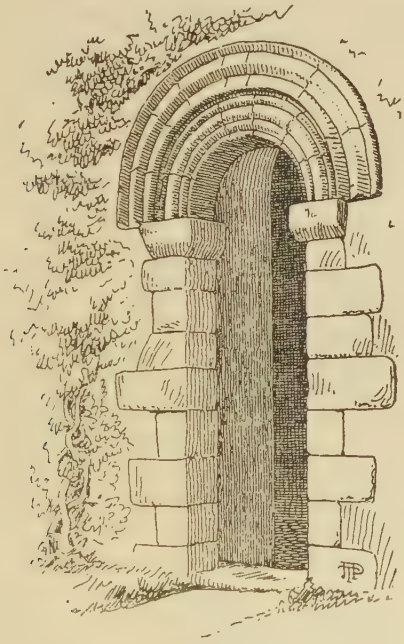

FIG. 5.—NORTH DOOR, WIVELSFIELD.

There are but few traces of Saxon windows to be found in any of the churches other than in the towers of Singleton and Sompting, except the remarkable and very complete ones at Worth. These are of the rudest description in two lights separated by a baluster shaft, and having the bases and corbel capitals almost unworked; they are placed high up in the walls, and could

never have been glazed. In the tower of Sompting occur some straight-sided arch openings, thought by some to be a characteristic of Saxon work, but which is only an imitation of a form common in debased Roman and early Romanesque, and to be found in such widely-scattered buildings as the Palace of Theodosius at Constantinople, St. Jean at Poitiers, St. Maria in Trastevere, and many other places on the Continent. The same form is frequently to be found in niches, as at the east end of Ovingdean and in Sompting, where the sides of the arch are elaborately carved.

Several very complete chancel arches remain in the county which probably belong to the Saxon period. These are to be found in the churches of Bosham, Botolphs, Buncton, Chithurst, Clayton, Ford, Lyminster, Ovingdean, Selham, West Hampnett, and Worth, and one at Rumboldswyke, built entirely of Roman bricks, has been but recently destroyed. To these may be added the tower arches of Bosham and Sompting and the transept arches of Worth. In most cases some attempt has been made to give a decorative aspect to these arches by mouldings or by carving the imposts, although the work is generally of the rudest description. They differ very considerably in their width, that of Selham being only 4 feet 10 inches between the jambs, while that of Worth is 14 feet 1 inch; and though their proportions are generally similar to those of the doorways, in the case of the three arches at Worth the shape is quite Norman. Of all these arches that of Bosham is, perhaps, the most ancient; but it seems to have undergone more than one alteration. The rudely-moulded bases stand on rough square plinths, and the responds have angle shafts in the later Romanesque manner, while the capital is similar to the inverted base; so that altogether it forms a curious admixture of details for which it is difficult to fix a date. The chancel arch at Lyminster has evidently been altered and heightened; and it may be a question whether the additional work

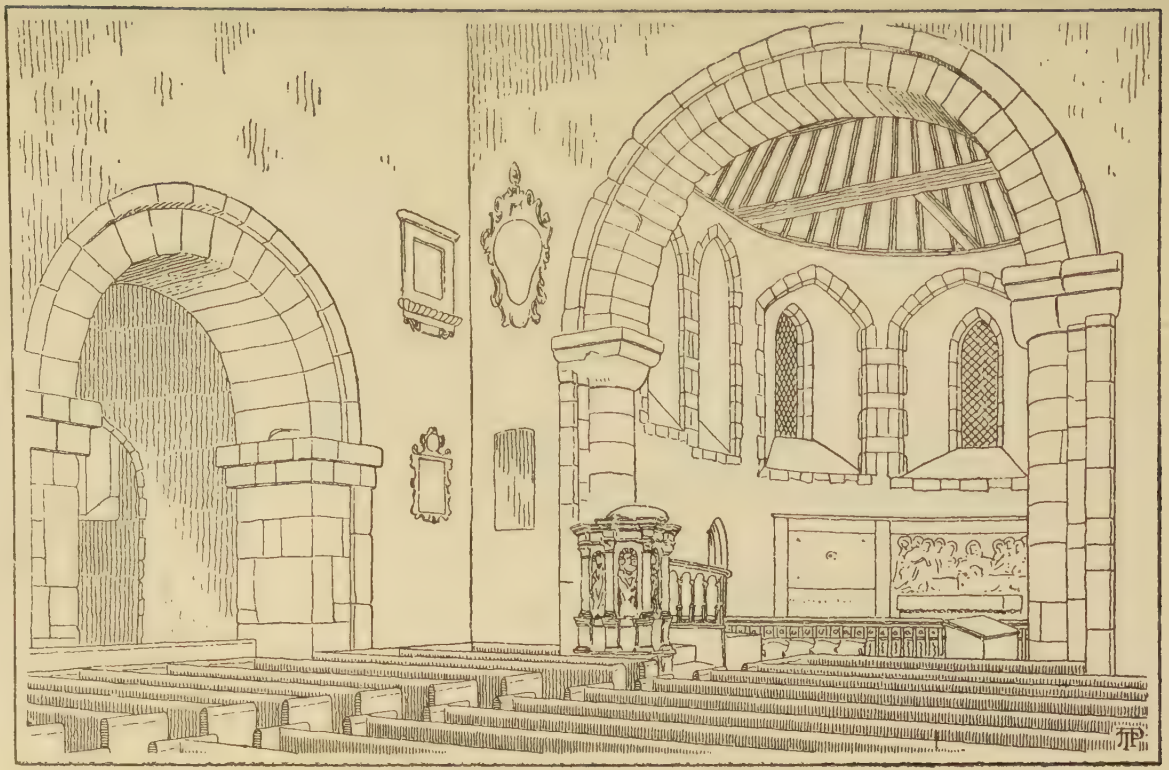

FIG. 6.—INTERIOR OF WORTH CHURCH.

does not belong to the Norman period. The three great arches of Worth (fig. 6), although distinctly Saxon in their characteristic details and masonry, have in their proportions and arrangement all the appearance of Norman work; but there is no doubt that the whole of this fine church belongs to the period between Canute and the

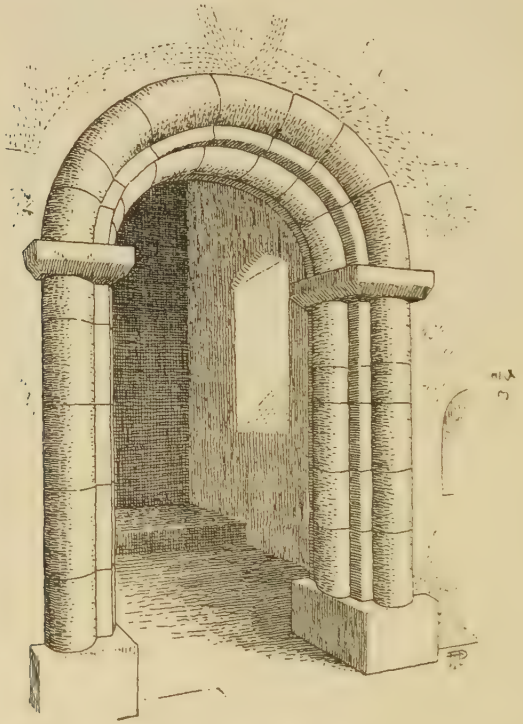

FIG. 7.—CHANCEL ARCH, ST. JOHN BAPTIST, CLAYTON.

Conqueror. The two most perfect chancel arches in the county are those of Clayton and Selham. That at Clayton (fig. 7) is formed by three great half-rolls set on the faces of the walls and the soffits of the arch and continued down the jambs, broken only by a square abacus slab, which forms a rude capital, and terminating on a

square block which forms the base. The arch at Selham is smaller and moulded round on its west face with a bold angle roll (fig. 8). The arrangement of the three-quarter shaft set on the jamb might suggest later influence, but the character of the carving on the south capital is distinctly pre-Norman, particularly in the interlacing ornament with the zoomorphic termination in place of the usual volute. The arrangement of the capitals in three heights is very unusual; but there seems to have been no alteration made in the work except that, perhaps in the twelfth century, the south face of the north abacus has been reworked into a moulding. The carving of the impost to the tower arch at Sompting should be compared with this of Selham for the similarity in the carving of the volutes, reminiscent, perhaps, of some Ionic capital, which would suggest the same date of the beginning of the eleventh century for both of these works.

The fact that ancient fonts were carved and decorated at times subsequent to the period of their original production, as seems to have been the case with that of St. Martin at Canterbury, makes it occasionally difficult to determine their actual date. Thus the fonts of Yapton, Brighton St. Nicholas, and Lewes St. Anne, which are of a cylindrical form like the Italian well-heads, would be judged to be, from their shape alone, Saxon. That of Yapton, with its shallow arcaded panels filled in with crosses *fitchée*, and said to have been made in imitation of the famous "Well of the Woman of Samaria" in the cloister of St. John Lateran, may be accepted as belonging wholly to the earlier part of the eleventh century. The fonts of Denton and Lewes are covered with the interlaced ornament common to all Scandinavian work, and may belong to an early date. The age of the Brighton font is less easy to determine. From one of the scenes depicted on it having been generally considered to be taken from the legend of St. Nicholas of Myra its date has been brought

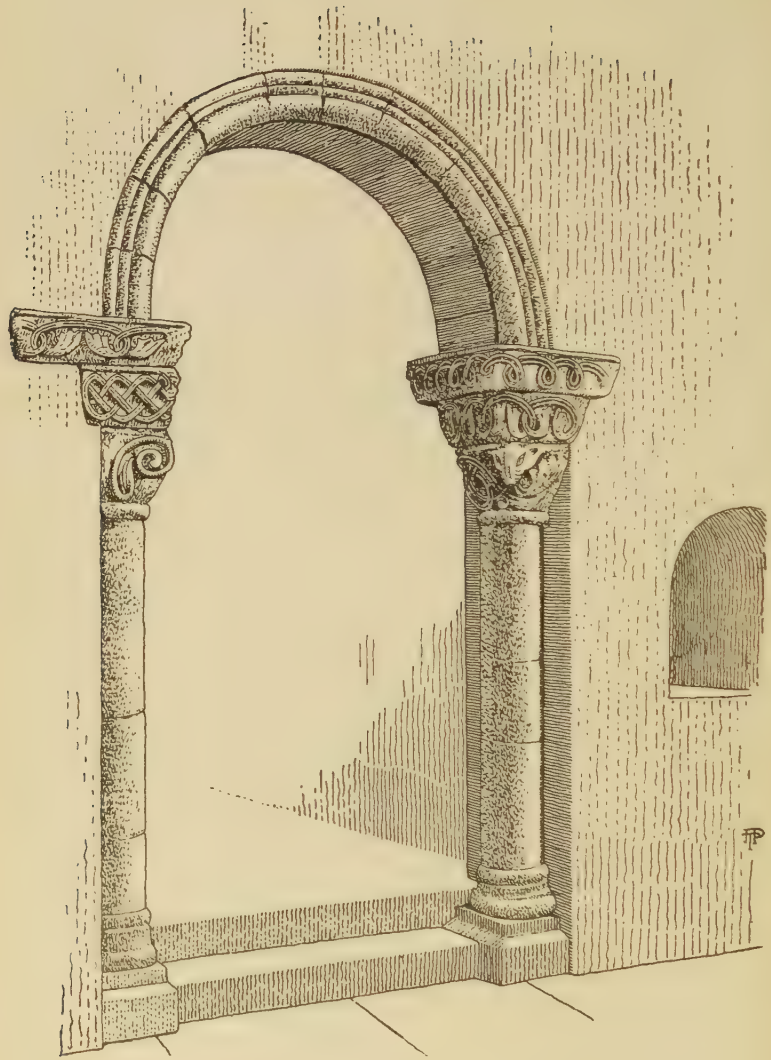

Fig. 8.—Chancel Arch, Selham.

down to a period which seems inconsistent with its other characteristics; and considerable doubt is now thrown on this reading of the sculpture. In the boat scene from the life of St. Nicholas, carved on the Flemish fonts of Winchester and Zedelghem and other well-known fonts of this class, the principal feature is the falling overboard of the young man with the cup, but there is no such figure here; moreover, on the other fonts three persons are shown in the boat, but there are only two at Brighton. If, as seems probable, this scene does not refer to St. Nicholas, but to some scriptural event more in accordance with the two other scenes on the font of the Last Supper and the Baptism of our Lord, then the work may be accepted as contemporary with the sculptured slabs from the old cathedral of Selsey.

At Jevington and Botolphs, at Bexhill in the beautiful coped tombstone covered with interlaced work, at Sompting and in Chichester Cathedral, are fragments of sculpture of the pre-Conquest period, and doubtless, as was recently the case at Iping, other relics of Saxon architecture and art may yet be discovered; but this short account enumerates the principal examples which have survived and are to be seen at the present time in the churches of Sussex.

THE SAXON CHURCH AT BOSHAM

By the Rev. Theodore Johnson

THE pleasant parish of Bosham stands at the head of an arm of the sea known as Chichester Harbour, in the extreme west of the county of Sussex. The beauty of Bosham Harbour, with its picturesque irregular buildings, above which the spire of the ancient church figures conspicuously, lending a touch of historic charm to the picture, is a household word among artists. Its narrow winding streets, with its quaint miniature Town Hall, still retaining its ancient law officers and peculiar rights, are quite in keeping with a past age.

Bosham belongs to the Rape of Chichester, one of the six old divisions of the county of Sussex, the others being Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings. In Norman times the military governor of each rape ruled from the town bearing its name, which was accessible by sea, so that Sussex was fully protected from any attack by a foreign foe. The Rape of Chichester was the only ecclesiastical rape.

At Bosham we are probably standing upon the site of the earliest introduction of Christianity to the South Saxons. As early as the seventh century an Irish monk, named Dicul, presided over a small monastery here, and it is recorded in the list of vicars of Bosham that one Eappa, a monk, held the ecclesiastical charge of the place in A.D. 650, or twenty-nine years before Dicul took

this office. Bishop Wilfrid, one of the earliest missionaries of Christianity to the South Saxons, found, according to the Venerable Bede, in A.D. 681, but one Christian settlement in Sussex. This was the small brotherhood, or monastery, presided over by Dicul at Bosham. For some time St. Wilfrid laboured with success among the heathen, uncivilized Saxons. He taught them to make nets for fishing and to till the land around their rude dwellings, and at the same time he preached the Gospel to them. A small Saxon church was afterwards erected, probably upon the site of an earlier Roman basilica, or temple and court house combined; and it may have been that Dicul and his monks used these earlier buildings for their dwelling-place, which, in a way, would account for their settlement at Bosham; but, of course, nothing is now known of this.

The Rev. K. H. MacDermott, the present vicar of Bosham, who has done so much to unveil the past history of his interesting church and parish, writes, in his little guide book, *The Story of Bosham Church:*

> Here the Norman, the Dane, the Saxon, and (in earlier days) the Roman lived and died, and each in his turn left signs of his sojourn in the Church, which at the present day still stands as a monument to those ancient inhabitants. It is to the Roman that we owe the site of the Church, for upon this spot there existed in the fourth, or fifth, century a Basilica or Roman Court House.

Tradition carries us back to a yet earlier period, for it is stated that the Emperor Vespasian, A.D. 69-79, had a house at Bosham, in which case it may have been that the basilica was built by his order for the use of his court. The foundations of this ancient building were discovered about one hundred years ago while digging a vault, and in 1865 the floor of the nave of the church was lowered two feet to expose the Roman bases of the present chancel arch.

Other proofs of an earlier Roman building here are

(i.) the Roman bricks to be seen in the walls of the church. These were undoubtedly dug up near by and placed in their present position at some early restoration or enlargement of an early Christian church. (ii.) Quantities of Roman remains, pottery, etc., have been from time to time found in and around the present church.

The greatest difficulty which presents itself to the fact of an earlier foundation than the Saxon one at Bosham is, strange to say, in the derivation of its name, which is of English (*Saxon*) origin, *e.g.*,[1] "*Bos*," *Eng.*, from "*Bosa*," probably the first bishop of East Anglia, A.D. 669; thus "*Bos-ham*" = "*Bosa's dwelling*," in the same way that we find "*Bos-ton*" (Lincolnshire) = "Bosa's town," "*Bos-worth*" (Leicestershire) = "Bosa's estate," "Bos-ley" (Cheshire) = "Bosa's land," etc.

Of course, it may have been that Vespasian and his Roman followers knew Bosham by an earlier name, which has been entirely lost to us, and that the origin of its present name, "*Bos-ham*," dating from Saxon times, marks the particular period of the introduction of Christianity into the land of the South Saxons. In this case the later name was given as a Christian, or consecrated, name to the place after it had been reclaimed from heathenism, but of this nothing now can be accepted as certain.

Among the various spellings of Bosham we find "Boseham," "Bosenham," "Boscham," "Boskham," "Bossenham," and "Bosenhamm," but some of these may be accounted for by the illiterate spelling of the periods in which they were in common use.

An early mention of a small Saxon church at Bosham is found in a MS. in the British Museum. It was written by one John Smith in 1635 (?). He states:—

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[1] See *Traces of History in the Names of Places*, by Flavell Edmunds, F.R.H.S., p. 177.

The habitants of Bosham have shewed unto me, deriving their knowledge by tradition from their forefathers, the ruyns of an outworn foundation neere to that ancient Parish Church, which they called St. Bede's Chapel, as small in circuite, as Bede maketh the cell of Dicul, there adjoyninge to bee.

This quaint document places the first Christian church at Bosham as early as the seventh century.

The Rev. H. K. MacDermott also mentions, in *The Story of Bosham Church*, pp. 5, 6, that certain changes have taken place in the dedication title of the church, which for the last two or three centuries has been known as "*The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity.*" He bases his remarks upon three wills of the sixteenth century, as follows:—

α William Thomson, of Bosham, May 12th, 1530:—"I bequeath to the light of Allhallows, 1 lb. of wax; to the light of S. George, 1 lb. of wax."

β Richard Foster, of Bosham, November 7th, 1536:—"my body, etc., in the Chauncell of Our Lady, of Bosham."

γ John Estocke, of Bosham, July 15th, 1538:—"to the high Altar of Bosham, 2d.; to the Rode lyght, Allhallows lyght, Our Lady's lyght, to eche of them, 2d. I will have an obit yerly in Our Lady's Chauncell at Bosham."

Mr. MacDermott adds:—

It is evident from these extracts that the Chancel was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that there were two Chapels, one to St. George, and the other to All Hallows, probably one over the Crypt, and the other in the North Aisle, where piscinas are still to be seen.

If we turn from private records to our national history, we are greatly helped by the fact that Bosham and its Saxon church appears on the Bayeaux Tapestry, which is acknowledged to have been the work of Matilda, the wife of Duke William of Normandy—"*William I. (Conqueror).*" This alone proves that in tracing the history of Bosham Church we are engaged upon a most interesting subject, and one worthy of the most careful study from every point of view.

The little port of Bosham was of some importance in early Saxon times. In the sheltered waters of its creek the small Saxon ships were safe from the violence of storms. About 1017, Canute began to repair the waste and destruction caused by the terrible invasion of the Saxon marauders. He restored many of the churches and religious houses in his kingdom, and if it be true, as tradition has it, that he lived at Bosham, it is natural to conclude that he began his good work of church building and restoration there, especially as it is the supposed burial-place of his little daughter, aged about eight years. To verify this old story, excavations were made as recently as 1865, or about 850 years after the reign of Canute, when a small stone coffin was found containing the remains of a child answering to the description of Canute's daughter. Experts who were consulted about this matter pronounced the stone coffin to belong to the Saxon period. The coffin, with its remains, was again reverently interred, and the spot, which is immediately outside the chancel arch on the south side, clearly marked by a large ornamental tile, bearing upon it a Danish raven. In 1906, through the interest of the vicar, the children of Bosham placed near by a suitable stone, bearing an inscription, to the Child-Princess of their village.

History further records that Bosham and its lands were seized by Earl Godwin, who must have lived in the neighbourhood, for his son, Sweyn, landed here in 1049, and from its port Harold, another son, embarked upon his voyage to pay homage to Duke William of Normandy.

The Bayeaux Tapestry gives representations of Harold in connection with Bosham—*e.g.*, one scene depicted shows Harold, hawk in hand, riding with his soldiers to Bosham; and, again, he is represented as entering Bosham Church in company with an attendant. In this latter picture the Saxon style of architecture is

set forth, but the whole is curiously lacking in proportion. (See *Old England*, by Charles Knight, chapter iii., p. 63.)

The following curious notice occurs in *Domesday Book*[1] relating to Bosham from the Sussex Survey (page 1), compiled in 1086:—

King William holds in demesne Bosham. Earl Godwin held it, and there were then there 56 and a half, and it paid geld 38 hides and does likewise now—There is land—

Again, on pages 3 and 4 we find:—

Bishop Osbern holds of the King the Church of Bosham, and he held it of King Edward—to this Church belonged 112 hides, there are now outside the Manor, 47—Hugh Fitz-Ranulph holds 30 hides and Ralph de Caisned, 17 hides—When Osbern received it, the Church vouched for 65 hides, and now likewise—There is land . . . and a Church and a priest there, and 2 serfs, and 1 haw of 8 pence. The whole in the time of King Edward was worth £300, and after £50.

From a lengthy description of Bosham in *Domesday Book* we have the strongest proof that Bosham Church was not only in existence before 1086, but, moreover, that it was richly endowed. We also find that the church and its lands were of such importance that they became the royal gift of Edward the Confessor to his kinsman, Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, and that William I., after his accession to the English throne, confirmed this appointment.

It may appear somewhat irregular that King Edward should grant the monastic buildings and estates, including the living of Bosham, to a bishop residing so far away as Exeter, and possessing no jurisdiction within the then diocese of Selsey (for the see of Chichester was not transferred from Selsey until 1075, when Stigand, who had been Bishop of Selsey for five years, 1070, removed to Chichester); yet it must be borne in mind that the emoluments of Bosham were so great that none but a prince-bishop could hold them. The 112 hides of land represented some 13,000 acres in the

1 See *Domesday Book*, p. 266, by Mr. De Gray Birch.

neighbourhood,[1] and if we make a comparison of the estates attached to other livings at this period, we find that they generally comprised from 1 to 2 hides of land, or from 120 to 240 acres. Then there was the full maintenance of the monastery to be kept up, in addition to the vast estates attached to this ecclesiastical establishment.

Bosham enjoyed peculiar royal privileges, with free immunity from any episcopal or archidiaconal jurisdiction from the see of Chichester. In other words, Bosham was "*a peculiar*" held by the Bishop of Exeter under the King's royal favour and deed of gift. Such an arrangement would, sooner or later, bring strife and ill-feeling between the episcopal authorities of Chichester and Exeter, and the friction grew so intense that, in 1317, Pope John XXII. was appealed to to decide the question under whose jurisdiction the ecclesiastical establishment of Bosham rightly fell. He appointed two of his cardinals, Gaucelin and Luke, to investigate the claim of Bosham to be a royal free chapel, and whether it lay outside the jurisdiction or authority of the Bishop of Chichester, in whose diocese it was situated, but without any apparent results. A little later matters were more amicably arranged, but not until a fierce contest had taken place between Bishop Langton, of Chichester (1305-1337), and Bishop Walter Stapylton, of Exeter. The latter gave notice of his intention to hold a visitation of the collegiate chapel at Bosham, and the prebends were summoned to attend.

Bishop Langton, of Chichester, resented this right to thus officially visit in his Diocese, and he sent a messenger to meet Bishop Stapylton at Harting, where he would enter the Diocese, with a letter forbidding him to hold the Visitation under pain of Excommunication. Disregarding this letter, the Exeter Diocesan pursued his journey to Bosham, and held his Visitation. This so exasperated Bishop Langton, that he at once carried his threat into execution. He took with him the Dean of Chichester and other Clergy,

[1] *Domesday Book*, p. 266, by Mr. De Gray Birch.

entered the Cathedral, and there uttered the sentence of Excommunication, the sentence being repeated in all the Churches of Chichester, and also in those of Fishbourne, Rumboldswyke and St. Pancras. This unhappy quarrel led to an adjustment of the differences between the two Bishops, and from this date the patronage of the College was vested in the Bishops of Exeter, but the privilege of visiting it was granted to the Bishops of Chichester.—*From "The Story of Bosham Church," by the Rev. K. H. MacDermott, Vicar, pp.* 16, 17.

Some two hundred years before this, the old Monastic Order of St. Benedict, founded by Adelwalch at Bosham, had been changed to a collegiate body by Bishop Warlewaste, who rebuilt the church, making it much larger by the addition of north and south aisles. He is supposed to have made the curious raised crypt in the south aisle, which has always puzzled archæologists. It is still unknown what the original object and use of this underground chamber was. It may have been for a private burial-place for himself, or for members of the chapter; again, it has been suggested that it was a private entrance chamber for the prebends, and that it was connected by a subterranean passage with the college buildings, which stood upon the south side of the church.

Several of the windows date from this rebuilding of the church by Bishop Warlewaste—*e.g.*, the Early English ones in the chancel, and the fine lancet-shaped five-light east window, with its detached Purbeck shafts; again, it is supposed that the arcades in the walls of the nave date from this period.

From an old document of the seventeenth century, still existing in Chichester Cathedral, it is stated that the five prebendal stalls of Bosham were allotted to Walton, Chidham, Westbrooke, Funtington, and Apuldram. The college appointed its own vicar from its own body from 1412-1535, when the prebend of Walton generally held that office.[1]

1 When Henry I. granted Bosham to Bishop Warlewaste, of Exeter (1107-1137), he appointed a dean and five secular canons to the collegiate establishment.

The college of Bosham was dissolved in 1548, and the buildings sold to a layman, Vincent Calmady, who used them as a private residence. Some years afterwards they were used as the vicarage, but after long years of neglect and ruin they became uninhabitable, and at length were taken down in 1840; so that now there only remains part of a wall, with an old Early English doorway in the middle of it, to mark the ancient foundation.

Passing on to modern times, there is but little of interest to record. The only events of importance relate to the repairs of the fabric, etc.

On January 14th, 1638, the steeple was struck by lightning and took fire, but the chief damage done was the destruction of the wooden shingles.

In 1786 the weather-cock was set up, and towards the middle of the last century the singing gallery in the tower-arch was taken down.

In 1903 a thorough restoration was begun, which included the complete repair of the tower, re-hanging the five bells (No. 3 being recast), the re-shingling of the spire, the strengthening of the walls of the nave, placing tie-beams across to support the roof, and a perfect overhauling of the chancel. This work has been most faithfully carried out by the present vicar, the Rev. K. H. MacDermott.

It remains for us now to examine more closely the several architectural features of this ancient House of God.

The earliest Saxon church was terminated at the east end by an apse, as may be seen at Worth and some other Saxon churches. Proof of this may be seen in the vestry, where the direction of the curved stones are still visible. The chancel was originally small in comparison with the nave, and the many subsequent enlargements and alterations have made it somewhat difficult to trace its exact size and appearance, as but little remains in the present chancel beyond the stonework near the

Bosham Church.

arch separating it from the nave, and a window in the north wall.

During the next period the Norman architecture is strongly marked. The original chancel was enlarged more than twice its length, and a new double-splayed window placed on the north side. This window, which is in a fair state of preservation, now opens into the vestry. The double splays of its jambs are an unusual feature. It is void of any decoration and of great width, so that it represents a doorway more than a window. Again, its sides are not plumb, or upright, and this gives it a quaint appearance. On the south wall there is a ruined piscina, also of this date.

We have already described the complete restoration of the church under Bishop Warlewaste in the early part of the twelfth century. At some later date a rood-screen was placed across the chancel arch, but this has long since disappeared, although the marks of its fastenings to the stonework are still to be seen.

The old oak stalls of the prebends, with their misereres, probably dating from the time of Henry VIII., were destroyed by the *so-called restoration* of 1865. At this time, also, the old oak seats and roof, the finely carved Jacobean pulpit, the clerk's desk, among other treasures, were lost to the church. To make good this ruthless destruction, the choir has been suitably fitted with new stalls, and other necessary carved oak furniture, strictly in accordance with the fine architectural features of their surroundings. So careful has Mr. MacDermott been in this matter that he has added a new carved oak pulpit, the decoration of which represents the ancient work in the earliest periods represented in the church. This pulpit was made from the old oak beams taken from the tower in 1903.

On the north side of the chancel there is a tomb bearing the figure of a young girl. This probably dates from the reign of Edward I. Nothing is now

known of its history, although for many years it was erroneously supposed to mark the resting-place of Canute's daughter.

The font is of late Norman design, octagonal in shape. The cup, or bason, stands upon a central pillar, and it is further supported by four smaller Purbeck or Sussex marble pillars surrounding it. Here may be seen the rude hasps of iron embedded in the stone, which remain to show how the oaken cover was secured in obedience to royal command in 1236, which decreed:— "That all fonts should be supplied with covers to lock, to prevent unscrupulous persons from taking away the Consecrated Water for unholy purposes, or superstitious use."

The walls of the nave are truly wonderful examples of Saxon architecture, and in the west wall of the tower may be seen a pure Saxon window in a good state of preservation. The rest of the windows of this period have been allowed to perish in the unknown past.

The three circular clerestory windows in the north wall of the nave were probably the only means of lighting it in early times, when the church was used for purposes of sanctuary, etc. Their height would prevent missiles from being thrown in by an enemy attacking from without.

The tower arch, with its curious triangular-headed window over it, represents excellent examples of "*long and short*" Saxon masonry. This arch is defective in design, or, as architects would better express it, not "*correctly sprung*."

The Transitional period of architecture is also represented here by the aisles, which date from the twelfth century (see page 79)—Bishop Warlewaste's rebuilding; but unfortunately the original windows were swept away by the alterations made in the fabric in 1840 and, later, in 1862.

In the north aisle was the (*chantry*) chapel of

Fishbourne, dedicated to All Hallows (?) or St. George (?). It was founded in 1280 (?). The altar has long since perished, but there remains a short-shaped Norman piscina, and, near by, the aumbry, or stone recess or cupboard, for holding the altar vessels, books, etc., as used in this chapel.

The raised floor of the south aisle is formed by the groined roof of the extraordinary crypt placed beneath it by Bishop Warlewaste.

There are six bells, the oldest bearing the inscription "RB. 1572." In connection with the belfry we would mention a Sussex legend, "*The Bell of Bosham*," by Arthur Stanley Cooke, in which the author tells the following story:—

In the days of the Northmen, when the pirate Wulff, the son of Sweyn, sailed up Bosham Creek in search of pillage, the church was robbed, and among much treasure taken was the famous tenor bell. In spite of the prayers and entreaties of the monks and peasants, the heathen sea-pirates carried off the Christians' bell, but St. Nicholas came to the rescue. By a miracle he caused the stolen bell to pass suddenly through "*both deck and hold of the ship*," so that it rapidly sank to the bottom of the creek into what is known as "*Bell-hole*." There it still lies to blend its rich deep tones with the music of its lost companions whenever a peal shall be rung from the old church tower.

There remains but to mention the old parish chest, which stands within the church near the south door. Mr. Philip Johnston, a well-known authority on ecclesiastical antiquities, says the date is about 1210. It is of solid oak throughout, with a chain at the back to fasten it to a wall. It has a "hutch" (box) inside for valuables, and underneath that a secret well, only recently discovered. When searching for unknown treasure here, the vicar found a tiny silver Anglo-Irish halfpenny of the date of Edward I., bearing the following inscription: "EDW-R-ANGL-DNS-HYB"—Edward King of England and Lord of Ireland—with the King's full-face bust in a triangle on the obverse side; and on the reverse side a long cross, with three pellets in each angle, with the words,

"CIVITAS-VATERFOR," thus showing it was minted at Waterford, in Ireland.

The church registers of Bosham date from 1557.

Some very fine engravings of the church are exhibited near the old chest, viz.: the church in 1830, by King; in 1845-47-51, by Nibbs, also in 1888; the crypt in 1783 and 1851, by Nibbs; the college in 1820; Canute's daughter's coffin when discovered in 1865.

As we leave the old church by the south door, our attention is fixed upon several Crusaders' or Pilgrims' crosses rudely cut into the stone east jamb of the doorway. The large one is about 5 ft. 6 ins. from the sill, and the smaller one about 4 ft. 6 ins. below it. There are several others below this height, suggesting that they may have been made kneeling by these travellers upon landing at Bosham, after their dangers by war and sea, as a special act of thanksgiving and deliverance at the first House of God they met with upon their safe return to their native land.

CHICHESTER

By the Rev. Prebendary Cecil Deedes

THE origin of Chichester is certainly prehistoric, probably dating from the first settlement of this part of England. It is a likely spot for an early race to pitch upon for a defensive port, lying as it does near the head of the easternmost of those navigable waterways which deeply indent the level coast up to the Southampton Water, itself protected by the streams and swamps of the Lavant on the east and south sides, and defensible on the north and west by the natural forest. The site was afterwards secured by a double line of ditches, which are still to be traced at many points, and probably terminated near Boxgrove on the east and at the edge of the swamp above Bosham Harbour on the west. Within these lines, crowned, we may suppose, by wooden palisades, would be enclosed cleared spaces occupied by fields and gardens, much as at Syracuse one may still trace the outer line of defensive walls enclosing some square miles of territory, upon the produce of which the inhabitants could subsist during a siege of protracted length. The site of the city itself was no doubt almost exactly as it is in the present day. The mounds within the existing walls were probably first raised by the earliest inhabitants for their protection against any foes who might have pierced the outer defensive lines. Round and outside these the Romans, probably at a late time of their occupation (towards A.D. 400), raised the walls, of which bastions still remain.

At this time the southern coast was being fortified against the increasingly frequent Saxon attacks. As a proof of the date of these works, Roman pink mortar has been noticed in the foundations; also late Roman coins.[1]

We are to suppose, therefore, that the Romans, probably at the subjugation of the southern coast by Vespasian, adopted a site already marked out as suitable to their purpose, and transformed it into the Romanized "Regnum." The space enclosed by the walls is by no means rectangular, but, as Mr. Adolphus Ballard points out, the east and west streets are of exactly the same length, 1,105½ feet, though the north street is 427½ feet longer than the south. The south-east quarter of the city is intersected in a similar way by the Pallant streets—north, south, east, and west. This name is no doubt derived from "Palatium," the technical designation of the general's headquarters in camps or fortified cities, though certainly the word is used in the *Saxon Chronicle* for "Palace." A parallel to the probable condition of Chichester before its enclosure within walls may be seen at the present time at Wareham, Dorset. Traces of the Roman occupation have been found from time to time, and in Chichester[2] may be seen a stone dug up about 1723, when the foundations of the present Council Chamber in North Street were being laid, showing that a temple had been raised on that spot to the honour of Neptune and Minerva. On this stone are found the names of King Cogidubnus and of Pudens, son of Pudentinus, who gave the site. A considerable literature has grown up around this celebrated inscription[3] and

1 The "Goodwood" inscription (see Adolphus Ballard's *Chichester*, pp. 4, 5), with Claudius as a *nomen*, seems to indicate a Roman occupation, probably a peaceful one, before Vespasian.

2 This stone, formerly at Goodwood, has been lately restored by the present Duke of Richmond to the City, and is now inserted in the wall of the Town Hall above the spot where it was discovered.

3 See Dr. Edwin Guest's essay appended to his *Origines Celticae*, ii. 121-45.

its possible bearing on the introduction of early Christianity into these parts of Britain.

An early Roman road connected Chichester with Silchester, passing along Portsdown Hill to Southampton. At a later date was made the Stone Street, of which the first trace is the long, straight stretch of road outside Eastgate, to be noticed again beyond Westhampnett, at Halnaker, and elsewhere.

Allusion should be made here to the vestiges of very ancient occupation which are to be traced on the hills and downs north of the city. This subject is dealt with briefly in Mr. W. Hayley Mason's *Goodwood* (1839), pp. 172-81, and more fully in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, iii. 174, 177.

Mr. Mason gives an engraving which represents the four largest tumuli on the downs above Kingly Bottom. These are circular, and are so placed that they may be seen from a distance of many miles. An ignorant conjecture assigned them to the date 895, in which year the people of Chichester, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, defeated the Danes, and these mounds, it was presumed, were raised over the slain warriors. They are really of earlier date, for examination has shown that they are Neolithic. Another portion of this engraving shows the section of a barrow, with a corpse deposited in the central cist, a smaller cavity on either side having contained an urn. These and other lithographic plates of antiquities were drawn and engraved by Mr. T. King, a local artist, whose name should not be forgotten. It does not appear that any very systematic exploration, to be compared with that of Sir R. C. Hoare in Wilts., has been made of these pre-Roman antiquities round Chichester. Till recently it seems to have escaped notice that a little on the landward side of West Stoke clump are clear traces of a line of British huts, the turf within circular spaces marking a series of depressions; that at the foot of the hill beneath is the site of a midden;

that within a quarter of a mile of the village is an ancient hollowed stone lying on its side, the boundary between two parishes, but brought up from the coast near Bognor and used, seemingly, as a Druidical altar; that about 1,000 yards from this stone, and connected by a track which is still defined on the turf, is a solitary oak of great age, standing in the midst of a large grove of yew trees, some of which have fallen, while others are nodding to their fall perhaps some centuries hence. As the whole of this valley is a tract forbidden to the woodman, a spot where nature holds its wildest sway, it needs no great effort of the imagination to people it once more with the rude inhabitants who used those flint implements and weapons, which the busy moles often bring again to the surface for the antiquary's behoof. A labyrinth of caves excavated in the chalk not far below the surface is still to be entered on the left of the old road which crossed the downs northward just west of the Goodwood racecourse. The surface has now been broken in here and there, and underground progress is not easy. Possibly these caves may have been designed as places of refuge in case of attacks from the coast, and, if so, may be of post-Roman date. Beneath Chislehurst common, in Kent, is a network of similar excavations.

There has been some perplexity among scholars about the name Chichester. It is well known, of course, that the town found by the Romans here was called *Regnum*, but the question arises whether *Chichester* represents in any way the British name of the settlement already established here when Vespasian invaded these southern shores. According to Suetonius he subdued "two mighty nations, twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight." The nations would be the Belgae, whose capital was Winchester, and the Regni, one of whose towns was, presumably, Regnum. The present writer, sharing in this perplexity, ventured to ask the opinion of that

eminent philologist, Mr. Henry Bradley, co-editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. His principal query was whether *Kair Cei*, which is identified by Henry of Huntingdon with Cicestria, can really be considered the eponymous original of the present city. A portion of Mr. Bradley's kind reply may be given *verbatim*:—

The list of cities in Henry of Huntingdon is taken from Nennius; but the identifications are Henry's own conjectures, based merely on the resemblance in sound to the twelfth-century forms of the names of certain cities. The list in the MSS. of Nennius has two forms—the original, containing 28 names, and the expanded form with 33 names. Henry of Huntingdon had the longer list; but he had taken (I think from Gildas) the older statement that there were 28 cities. Consequently he had to select 28 out of the 33 for his text. The MS. of Nennius before him had many of the names in very corrupt forms. The *Kair Cei*, which he identifies on the ground of similarity of sound with Cicestria, seems to have a curious history. One of the cities in the longer list of Nennius is *Kair Teim*. Now, the confusion between *t* and *c* in mediæval MSS. is constant, the letters being hard to distinguish; the use of initial capitals for proper names was not at all universal; and a final *m* was represented by a stroke over the preceding vowel. From these causes one of the extant MSS. (marked N by Mommsen) has CEĪ instead of TEIM. Probably Henry's copy of Nennius had this mistake, either with or without the further error of omitting the superscript line.

After giving further instances of Henry's mistakes, Mr. Bradley concludes that we may safely dismiss him from consideration. He then continues:—

It is a solid fact that Chichester is mentioned in the Parker MS. of the *Chronicle*, A.D. 895, as *Cisseceaster*. If the name is derived from the personal name *Cissa*, it ought to have been *Cissanceaster* (Cissan being the genitive). Cissa is a genuine old English name, borne by several men whose historical existence is beyond question. But whether at so early a date Cisseceaster could stand for Cissanceaster seems very doubtful; if Cisseceaster were a form of the eleventh century there would be no difficulty. It does not seem impossible that the first element of *Cisseceaster* may contain a corruption of the original British name of the place, and that the Cissa who is recorded to have invaded the south coast in 477 may be a mythic personage, invented to account for the place-name. Some of the other alleged names of chiefs of the invaders are similarly open to suspicion: it is hard to believe that Port is not an invented eponymous of Portesmūda.

Dr. Guest, in his treatise on "The Early English Settlements in South Britain" (*Orig. Celt.*, ii. 158), accuses the Welsh writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of mistranslating English and Latin terms. "Thus they translated Chichester (which is really a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon 'Cissa-ceaster,' the city of Cissa) into Caer Kei." In this particular instance we may more charitably suppose, with Mr. Bradley, that it was a misreading rather than a mistranslation. It should not be forgotten that the great hill above Worthing—Cissbury[1]—has been thought to owe its origin to the founder of our city, whose name it shares. However, as Mr. Bradley says, there were other persons named Cissa.

The early Saxon rulers of Chichester seem to have aimed at maintaining a peaceful rule, and there is no doubt that the "Merchant Guild" existed here from an early period. This would be quite in conformity with the habits of the Saxons, who by means of these guilds encouraged trade and commerce. Their establishment, of course, in any town was a proof that by situation and population trade could be profitably conducted there.

The earliest documentary notice of the Chichester Merchant Guild known to us is of the date of Stephen, who, soon after his accession, granted a charter, by which he confirmed to this merchant guild all its ancient rights and privileges.[2] As the Rev. E. Turner, in a paper on the subject (*Arch. Coll.*, xv. 169), says, this deed is valuable to us from the circumstances of its enabling

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1 *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vols. iii. p. 174, xxiv. pp. 145-65.

2 The city muniments still contain most of the original charters granted by successive sovereigns. They have been carefully preserved by successive town clerks, and many are beautiful specimens of caligraphy and ornamentation. Those of Queen Elizabeth and James I. are probably the most important of the series. The Corporation possess plate of considerable value, including an exceptionally fine mace. In the council chamber there are inscribed upon tablets fixed to the walls particulars of the foundation of the "Mace Society," and also a list of the mayors complete from 1532.

us to establish beyond a doubt the early Norman antiquity of this guild by declaring that its members were in the full possession of the same rights and privileges in the time of this King's grandfather, William the Conqueror, and of his uncles, William the Second and Henry the First. There is good reason to suppose that it existed before the Conquest.

While the bishops held their see at Selsey, the South Saxon kings had a settlement outside the Roman ceaster at Kingsham and Stockbridge, from which Edward I. dated letters. The canal was afterwards cut close to this site, but the present house, called Kingsham, is occupied as a farm, and seems to be but a fragment of the mansion which existed here till about 1700. At that time, according to Mr. Turner, it contained many spacious apartments, one of which surpassed the rest in size and in the beauty of its ornamentation. It had passed, in the fifteenth century, into the possession of the Shelleys, of Michelgrove. Escutcheons of the Sydney family, displaying in their different quarterings the matrimonial alliances of its members, gave proof that, subsequent to the Shelley ownership, this property had belonged to a branch of this equally distinguished family.

The early ecclesiastical history of these parts is too well known to detain us long. While the effects of St. Augustine's mission were being felt, not only in Kent, but as far off as Northumbria, early in the seventh century, Sussex, cut off by the Andred forest, still remained in pagan darkness. The *Saxon Chronicle* records that in 661 Ethelwald, King of the South Saxons, had been baptized under the persuasion of Wulfhere, King of Mercia; but his subjects did not accept the faith till twenty years later, when Bishop Wilfrid, after his expulsion from Northumbria, came to Sussex, and received from the King lands at Selsey, upon which a brotherhood of clerks was founded. In

709 Eadbert, the abbot there, was ordained Bishop of the South Saxons, and lists of the bishops of Selsey, varying somewhat in their order, are found among the ancient records of the episcopal registry and elsewhere. The succession has been continued till the present day, Stigand, the last Bishop of Selsey, becoming, after the Conquest, the first of Chichester. Dean Stephens thinks it noteworthy that Sussex is the one instance in England where the boundaries of kingdom, sub-kingdom, shire, and diocese have coincided from the very earliest times. Another unique point is that Chichester is the one English cathedral visible from the sea.

On the cathedral itself little can be said in this short sketch of the city, not because it is undeserving of a lengthy notice, but for exactly the opposite reason—because everything else must be dwarfed if it is to be allowed a space at all in proportion to its importance in the general scheme of the city. Those who want to understand its architectural features, and grasp in the most lucid manner the story which its own walls and towers have to tell, should consult Professor Willis' *Architectural History*,[1] a connected series of papers read before the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland at their Chichester meeting, July 13th, 1853. This was published at Chichester in 1861, with an introductory essay on "The Fall of the Tower and Spire," which took place in the spring of that very year.

Hard by the south-west angle of the cathedral is the palace, with its beautiful chapel, recalling architectural work in the presbytery of the cathedral. Among other interesting domestic features is the ceiling of the dining-room, displaying coats of arms on the sunk wooden panels. This is the work of Bishop Sherborne at the beginning of the sixteenth century. From an architectural point of view the cathedral tells

[1] See also Dean Stephens' *Memorials of the South Saxon See*, and Murray's *Handbook to the Southern Cathedrals*.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

its own tale with sufficient clearness, and many students versed in archæology have published monographs upon it, to which we must refer our readers.

It is to be regretted that the muniments in the episcopal registry give such meagre information on the successive additions and restorations of the original fabric, erected during the episcopate of Ralph I., 1091-1125. Probably no documentary evidence of any importance can now be discovered, but what is known has been well pieced together by the eminent writers before mentioned.

Chichester has seldom been obliged to face any great stirs or commotions from external attacks or internal dissensions. Having beaten the Danes in the ninth century, she seems to have reposed for generation after generation among her green pastures by her gently-flowing Lavant stream, with the downs watching her from the north and the Channel fringing her level stretch of arable to the south, under the good influence of her charter-protected merchant guild and her lordly bishops and well-endowed dignitaries.

The time at last came, however, when her repose was rudely disturbed. The city was besieged and taken. Bruno Ryves, who had been made chaplain to King Charles I. in 1640, was at that time Vicar of Stanwell, Middlesex. Turned out of his living, with his wife, children, and servants, and entertained for some time by Lord Arundell at Wardour Castle, he received from the King, in 1646, a patent creating him Dean of Chichester; but he was unable to reside at the deanery or to receive the emoluments attached to it till the Restoration in 1660, when he was offered and accepted the more valuable preferment of the deanery of Windsor. In 1642 he began to publish an occasional periodical under the title of *Mercurius Rusticus: or, the Countries Complaint of the Barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries of this late flourishing Kingdome.* These

papers were reprinted in 1646, with a further narrative of the *Sacriledges, etc., committed by the Schismatiques on the Cathedral Churches of this Kingdome.* The writer begins by describing the desecration of Canterbury Cathedral by the soldiers under the command of Colonel Sandys. Next follows an account of various profanations at Rochester. The passage relating to our own cathedral cannot be quoted *in extenso*, but a portion of it may serve to show the author's style and the soldiers' mad violence, traces of which are still to be seen.

In these last and worst daies, wherein while the heads of a Rebellious, Schismaticall Faction vote down the sacred Function and Order of Bishops, their Emissaries are mad to deface if not utterly to demolish their Churches. To this purpose, the Rebells under the Conduct of Sir William Waller, entering the City of Chichester on Innocents Day, 1642, the next day their first business was to Plunder the Cathedral Church; the Marshall therefore and some other officers having entered the Church went into the Vestry, there they seize upon the Vestments and ornaments of the Church, together with the Consecrated Plate, serving for the Altar, and administration of the Lord's Supper: they left not so much as a Cushion for the pulpit, nor a Chalice for the Blessed Sacrament: the Commanders having in person executed the covetous part of Sacriledge, they leave the destructive and spoyling part to be finished by the Common Soldiers: [who] brake downe the Organs, and dashing the pipes with their pole-axes, scoffingly said, *harke how the Organs goe.* They breake the Raile about the Communion Table, which was done with that fury, that the Table itselfe escaped not their madnesse, but tasted of the same fare with the Raile, and was broken in pieces by them. At the East end of the Quire did hang a very fair Table, wherein were written the Ten Commandements, with the Pictures of Moses and Aaron on each side of the Table; possessed with a zeale, but not like that of Moses, they pull down the Table, and breake it into small Shivers. . . . They force open all the lockes, either of doores or deskes wherein the Singing men laid up their Common Prayer Books, their Singing Bookes, their Gownes and Surplesses: they rent the bookes in pieces, and Scatter the torne leaves all over the Church, even to the covering of the Pavement, but against the Gownes and Surplesses their anger was not so hot, these were not among the *Anathemata*, but might be reserved to secular uses: in the South crosse Ile [*i.e.*, the South Transept] on the one side, the history of the Churches Foundation was very artifically pourtrayed, with the pictures of the Kings of England; on the other side over against them are the Pictures of the Bishops as well of Sealsey as of Chichester, began

by Robert Sherborn, the 37 Bishop of that See. . . . These monuments they deface and mangle with their hands and swords, as high as they could reach: and to show their love, and zeale to the Protestant Religion established in the Church of England, one of those Miscreants picked out the eyes of King Edward the Sixt's picture, saying, That all this mischief came from him, when he established the booke of Common Prayer.

Worse desecrations were to follow; but it is pleasanter to turn from these to a tablet still hanging in the chapter vestry, on which are recorded the sums devoted by pious and worthy men after the Restoration for the readornment of what the Puritans of the Tudor and Stuart periods had so miserably defaced. They could not, however, replace the plundered brasses on the tombs, nor make good the hackings and mutilations of much beautiful carved work wantonly destroyed.

Chichester had been taken after a short siege, which might have been prolonged but for the suspected disloyalty of some citizens, and for the fact that the garrison was too small for the city's proper defence. A rare pamphlet in the Bodleian Library, dated December 30th, 1642, has as part of its title, "Brave News of the Taking of the City of Chichester." William Cawley, who resided in or close to the city, was apparently the head of the Parliamentarian party within the walls, and was sufficiently noted as a prominent leader to sit among the judges of Charles I. The Parliament were able to hold the city till the close of the Civil War. The Royalists, under Lord Hopton, advanced as far as West Dean, but armed forces did not meet again in the suburbs or the streets.

There are some interesting accounts of the cathedral property during the Commonwealth among the MSS. in the Lambeth Palace Library. We learn from Mr. Ballard's researches that Cawley took possession of the rents, goods, and library of the bishop, and John Downes took his corn and household stuff from the Broyle, Petworth, and Streatham, and bought the bishop's palace

and estate at the Broyle. Out of the dean and chapter's revenues Parliament ordered that £150 should be paid towards the stipends of three learned divines, who should be housed in the residences of the dean and canons. Of course the Restoration changed all that. Cawley fled to Switzerland, where he died in 1666. His estates were confiscated.[1]

It is, however, clear that when the King enjoyed his own again, and when the bishop and dean returned to their houses and to a fresh exercise of the authority which had been usurped by others, the bitterness of partisan feeling was by no means extinguished. In those sad days of plots and counterplots, supposed or real, the days of Titus Oates, when everyone suspected everyone else, and a King, who could not be respected except on the abstract ground of divine right, was bartering his country's liberties for French gold, and paving the way for the Revolution which swept his ill-fated brother from the throne—in these troubled times Chichester seems to have had its full share of the factions, wranglings, and bitter feelings which prevailed everywhere. Much light is thrown on the condition of the country by the periodical news-sheets which flowed from the Press, and reflected the general currents of political opinion. One of these was conducted by Roger L'Estrange, under the title of the *Observator*, on the Tory side. In order to make the matter in this news-sheet more readable, it was always published in dialogue form—first by way of question and answer, next between Whig and Tory, finally between "Observator" and "Trimmer." During the year 1682 news from Chichester is rife. Some miscreants had

1 On Cawley, see further Book K of the *Cathedral Muniments*, p. 330, for Bishop Geo. Carleton's consecration of the chapel on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1621; Dr. F. H. Arnold's paper in *Sussex Archæological Collection*; and a monograph (1909) by the present writer. The hospital or almshouse founded by William Cawley outside Northgate, a picturesque building, became the city workhouse, 1753 (vol. xxxiv. 21-38).

stabbed two horses belonging to the bishop (Guy Carleton, translated from Bristol, 1678-85), and had cut the leather thongs of his coach, acts of spite which were prompted, it was thought, by political hatred. Before this the Duke of Monmouth had been received with bells and bonfires; but the bishop had declined to join in these proceedings, and on this account had probably become unpopular with a section of the citizens. Later, in 1682, more serious trouble arose. There was a conventicle on the Stockbridge Road, attended, among others, by Mrs. Farington, the wife of a prominent citizen, who lived opposite Canon Gate, in South Street. Information under the existing penal laws had been given by one Richard Habin, who, on Sunday, August 6th, was attacked as he passed Farington's house by the latter's coachman, and severely beaten on the head, from the effects of which assault he died, as was alleged by the prosecution, a few hours after. There was a hue-and-cry, but the assailant escaped, and lay for a time in the "Manhood" district between the city and Selsey, and he thus escaped apprehension on the murder charge. About a year and a half later he was taken up, according to L'Estrange, on a charge of highway robbery, and it is likely enough that he did not escape the gallows that time. We owe it to L'Estrange's untiring industry that the sworn evidence on the coachman's trial was printed as a reply to a pamphlet in defence of Mr. Farington, who had been charged with instigating the attack on Habin. In the eighteenth century these bitter animosities were allowed to die out, for in 1707 an agreement was made between Whigs and Tories "for maintaining and preserving the peace of the city of Chichester." By this compact a fair division of power and patronage within the city was intended, and on the whole secured. By degrees the dukes of Richmond came to nominate one Member of Parliament and the "independent" party the other. Trade and commerce had very much deserted

the city during this quiet period. Needle-making was at one time the manufacture for which Chichester was most noted, but the factories and homes of many who practised this industry had been destroyed during the siege of 1642, and it had become extinct before 1800. In spite, however, of commercial depression, many alterations and additions to the city were being made when the Rev. Alexander Hay published his *History of Chichester* in 1804. In a stout volume of over 600 octavo pages, this painstaking author chronicles many noteworthy facts and advances dubious theories. It is a book worth consulting by the side of Dallaway's history of the county.

Space now fails us rather than matter. We seem to have only touched the fringe of what should by rights be told about the ancient capital of this old-world kingdom and county of Sussex. Few well-informed visitors to Chichester fail to pay a visit to St. Mary's Hospital, the building in the city which is by far the most interesting after the cathedral. The late Rev. H. P. Wright, Archdeacon of Vancouver's Island, who in 1885 wrote *The Story of the "Domus Dei" of Chichester*, describing the hospital historically and architecturally, calls it "a sacred relic of inestimable worth." Those, however, who wish to know more about the hospital's long and chequered history may well consult Archdeacon Wright's book and the more recently published monograph by the Rev. J. Cavis Brown.

The former book seems to be now scarce, and perhaps we shall be doing what is acceptable to our readers by using a little of the space at our disposal in noting some of the best things in it. First, however, it should be noticed that St. Mary's was not the only hospital in Chichester. A more ancient foundation was the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene and St. James, about half a mile outside the east gate on the south bank of the Lavant stream. To this hospital Henry II. granted

a charter (probably in 1156), confirming to the "Infirms of Chichester whatever has been reasonably granted to them in lands and in tithes and in other things."[1] There is a charter of Bishop Seffrid II. (1180-1204), which mentions that the leprous folk without the gates of Chichester were in receipt of certain gifts made by his predecessors. The church at the hospital had been founded in memory of St. Mary Magdalene, which explains the association of her name with that of St. James. The chantry in this hospital was in the gift of the Crown, and the church possessed the privilege of sanctuary. In 1540 the income of St. James' was £6 8s. 10½d. per annum. Long before this time the fraternity had ceased to be leprous folk, so far as one can judge from the extant statutes. There is an interesting memorandum relating to it in Book K. of the *Cathedral Muniments*, p. 424, occurring in a rent-roll of 28 Henry VIII. (1537). Its total value then was £3 14s. 10d. It is there styled "Hospitale sive domus pauperum leprosorum sanctorum Jacobi et Marie Magdalene juxta Cicestr." Richard Odeby was master. The old enclosure, within ancient walls, is still to be seen close to the spot where the high-road to Arundel crosses the Lavant, and a pillar hard by marks the boundary of the city as fixed in 1835, but there is no vestige of the hospital itself except a cottage.

St. Mary's Hospital has been far more fortunate, for it continues to flourish at the present day quite as happily as in the Middle Ages. The building, which is a fine specimen of Decorated architecture, contains under one long roof the hall, 84 feet long, and the chapel, 47 feet. Alterations made in 1628 seriously disturbed the original beauty of the interior. Four lofty brick chimneys tower over two rows of small cubicles on either side of the hall. Separated from the hall by a beautiful screen is

1 Ballard, *Chichester*, p. 26.

the chapel, well lighted by its large east window. The old stalls have been, fortunately, allowed to remain, and are in good preservation. The seats are of the "miserere" or "misericord" type, with designs quaint and ingenious to a high degree. The love of the grotesque, which certainly flourished in the Middle Ages and delighted both regulars and seculars, finds ample expression both here and in the cathedral. Miss Phipson, in her interesting and well-illustrated work on *Choir-stalls and their Carvings*, has described briefly the thirteen carved stall-seats in the hospital and the thirty-eight in the cathedral, figuring three of the former and fifteen of the latter. Many are very quaint and curious, and there is high merit in the carvings in regard to both originality and execution.

Upon the cover of Archdeacon Wright's book is stamped an excellent facsimile of the hospital seal, the matrix of which is still preserved, with many others, in the episcopal registry. It represents the Holy Mother and Child, the former crowned and seated, the legend being, "SIGILL: HOSPITALIS: SCE: MARIE: CICESTRIE."

Archdeacon Wright restores the architect's design thus:—

> The side walls, only six feet high, had originally sixteen small windows, which, with east and west windows in the aisles, and a large piercing at the west end, and three small dormer windows, gave sufficient light, without exposing the sick to any unnecessary cold or glare. . . . Four noble oak pillars on each side do good duty in helping to support the enormous roof, for attached to each are four huge struts, one of which, in a curved form, reaches the tie-beam, adding greatly to its sustaining power. From the centre of the tie-beam a king-post is carried up to the ridge-piece, with a strut on either side attached to the principal rafter. The Hall, in its original state, must have been exceedingly imposing, and, in days when pure air was so much neglected by all classes, must have been specially fitted for restoring health and strength to the sick and weary.

It is well known that when the Grey Friars, in 1253, moved to their new premises in what is now called Priory Park, where the ancient castle of Chichester had stood, the prior and brethren of Mary's Hospital, before

that but meanly established near St. Olave's Church, occupied, by the King's licence, their deserted site. The late Mr. Gordon Hills, architect, drew up a valuable memorandum, now in the possession of Mr. W. B. B. Freeland, from which I am allowed to quote the following extracts:—

> Walter de Glovernia was Dean of Chichester from 1262 to 1280, and it seems probable he may also have been Custos of St. Mary's Hospital. He endowed this Hospital with the wood which he had bought of Robert Turgis on condition that the Hospital should furnish a competent light at the Altar of St. Anne which he had built in the Cathedral. . . . I judge that under this Dean the new buildings of St. Mary's Hospital slowly rose. He and his Bishop, Stephen de Berghsted, were earnestly engaged in the completion of the Cathedral Nave Chapels, and then in the construction of the costly shrine of St. Richard, completed in 1276, so that St. Mary's Hospital as we see it was begun quite at the end of the Early English period, and its work extended nearly or quite into the time of Gilbert de St. Leofard, 1288 to 1305.
>
> The very remarkable and beautiful oak screen of St. Mary's Chapel is modelled after the same ideas of tracery as are exhibited in the stone and marble work of Gilbert de St. Leofard's windows in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, and this and the stall work was no doubt the latest of the work in the completion of St. Mary's Chapel.

Mr. Hills continues to give details about the windows, and describes how, when Canon Swainson was custos, the east window was carefully restored in its original form after a diligent examination of the collapsed fragments of the original masonry, which had been built into a solid east wall. In the new window the two main mullions were made stronger than the originals by the addition of a small buttress to each inside and outside.

The object which may be considered as the city palladium in the eyes of the citizens generally is the market cross, built by Bishop Edward Storey about 1500, at the intersection of the four main streets. Mr. Gordon Hills, before praised, in a valuable monograph, now in the possession of Prebendary F. G. Bennett, to whose kindness I am indebted for powers of perusal and reproduction, considers it the finest by far of all the market crosses. The only other which he brings into

comparison with it is that of Malmesbury. Mr. Hills had been consulted about a restoration of the cross to its original appearance, so far as it was possible to ascertain the plan of the finial which crowned it. The alterations and restorations which have taken place from time to time, especially that of 1723, have not been improvements. It was at this period that the clock, the gift of Lady Farington, was introduced, and very possibly Mr. Hills' proposal to remove this clock, and attach it by means of a bracket to an adjoining house or to the Town Hall, was one of the reasons why his excellent suggestions were not accepted by the civic authorities. The cross without the four-dial clock, though undreamed of by the founder, would be considered mainly a lounge for the lazy and a street obstruction, removable, perhaps, like the old city gates. The square finial, in a classic style, was built to hold Lady Farington's clock-bell, and it survived the restoration carried out in 1746 by the then Duke of Richmond.

An engraving by Vertue, 1749, after a drawing by William Ride, shows three faces of the cross, those towards the east, west, and south, and gives the inscriptions on the west and south fronts, since removed.

Mr. Hills considered that the stone used in the original building was probably from the oolite quarry of Chilmark, Wilts., and that in the restoration (*temp.* Charles II.) a stone which is found near Ventnor was used. This had probably decayed seriously, and the Duke of Richmond's restoration was carried out in Portland stone.

Mr. Hills was at the pains to take accurate drawings and measurements when he was consulted in 1892 by a committee appointed by the Town Council, and in his report he divided the necessary works into one great restoration and numerous repairs. The former would be to reproduce as nearly as possible the central finial as it was when completed by Bishop Storey, and to remove

the four clock-faces and the stone gables which had been added in 1746.

John Cloos (or Close), Dean of Chichester, was probably, Mr. Hills considers, nearly akin to Nicholas Cloos, of Cambridge and Carlisle, who was architect of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was also Bishop of Carlisle, and predecessor there, though with an interval of sixteen years, of Bishop Storey, who was translated thence to Chichester. The character of the original finial may have been determined by Dean Cloos and Canon John Cloos, of Chichester, who died respectively in 1500 and 1496, supposing them to have possessed a fair share of the family genius.

It is a great pity that Chichester, from the point of view of her streets, has no half-timbered or pargetted or mediæval-fronted houses. It seems as though the citizens had followed some whim of public opinion that gabled houses should be condemned, and, accordingly, the fashion set in of refronting any such with brick and inserting rectangular windows with sashes. One may gather from Hay's *History of Chichester* (1804) that these changes were in progress in his own time, and were partly consequent on a local Act of Parliament, dated 1791, repealing one of 18 Elizabeth. The latter Act had clauses for the removal of obstructions, and empowered the commissioners to remove all sign-posts, water-spouts, gutters, sheds, and every encroachment or annoyance whatever, "by the due and full execution of which they have added to the elegance and salubrity of the city," says Hay. He adds:—

> The domestic building in every part of the kingdom is greatly improved within the last forty or fifty years; but in few places more than in Chichester. The dwelling-houses in the four principal streets, in that part called the Pallant, and the greatest part of those in the Little-London, are above mediocrity. In no part, it must be owned, is there uniformity. Every one in building adopts the plan which he thinks is most convenient for him, and regulates the whole as his circumstances may direct, or his fancy prompt him.

A tenement with its original plastered front is to be seen at the South Street end of the West Pallant, and some garden-fronts in East Street show their original gables, while the street-fronts of the same houses are in modernized brick. Some interiors near the city cross show fine ceilings and staircases. A noble detached mansion, dated 1696, will be noticed on the north side of West Street.[1] The city is justly famed for the beautiful and extensive gardens that lie within its walls.

1 This house has been ascribed to Sir Christopher Wren by conjecture, but when the Duke de Moro searched the great architect's plans he could find no proof that this was so.

SOME NOTES ON MONASTIC REMAINS

By Percy D. Mundy

ALTHOUGH the religious houses of Sussex were fairly numerous—they originally numbered about seventy—they were, with few exceptions, neither very wealthy nor responsible for any special economic work. The abbot of Battle and the prior of Lewes were frequently summoned to Parliament. Hardham and Boxgrove lay along an old Roman road, but the majority of the monastic houses were situated in obscure districts.

It is noticeable that the fourteenth and fifteenth century visitations of the bishops of Chichester show grave irregularities in the lives of the priors and monks; but it must be remembered that at this date monastic life had undoubtedly fallen away from its original high ideals, and luxury and vice had crept into its midst. In earlier days Sussex must have owed much to the ministrations of these men, who had renounced the world for a life of self-denial and meditation; these men who healed the sick, entertained the traveller, and to whom we must ascribe so much of the progress in education, in agriculture, and in all the arts. The following notes refer not necessarily to those examples which are of most historic interest, but rather to such as still possess architectural features worthy of attention. The greater number of these remains have been incorporated in farm dwellings, which are frequently surrounded by picturesque

buildings of a later date, and in close proximity to the old fish-ponds and mill stream.

Entering the county from the north-west, two miles from Fernhurst, in an obscure district close to the Surrey border, and lying in a wooded valley at the foot of Linchmere, we come upon the remains of the priory of Shulbrede, which was founded about the year 1200. In 1478 Bishop Story visited the priory, and found the church belfry and chancel in a ruinous condition, and left injunctions that the convent "do not frequent taverns," that they "keep silence," and that "the common seal be kept under two keys, of which the prior shall have one and the senior canon the other." Later, in 1518, Bishop Praty found it necessary to prohibit cards, dice, and drinking in the church or cemetery. In 1527 an enquiry elicited the fact that the prior was remiss in paying the stipends of the canons and too sparing in giving them victuals. Possibly the prior was more addicted to the pleasures of venary than to the duties of his office, and he may have been noted for a special strain of sporting dogs. This is suggested by a curious letter which exists among the Lisle Papers at the Record Office, in which the writer mentions having been "so bolde as to wryte to the Prior of Schelbred for a littell blacke brache [beagle, or scenting dog]." The priory was eventually dissolved in 1536, when the lands were granted to the Earl of Southampton.[1] The remains of the conventual buildings have been recently converted from a farmhouse into a private residence. Many interesting features are preserved, and in what is known as the Prior's Chamber are some curious tempera paintings, the earliest of which appears to date from the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the grounds of the priory are mounds and embankments which probably cover further remains of

[1] At the time of the suppression, among the possessions of Shulbrede was "a goodly In in the village, of the value of xl shelyngs goode rente."

the monastic buildings.[1] The beautiful little thirteenth century church of Linchmere, near by, should not be overlooked.

At Dureford, close to the Hampshire border, are the slight remains of an abbey founded by Henry Hussey in or about 1160. Probably it was not connected with any important events. Hare refers to the tomb of a monk with a raised cross, and the foundations and some carved stones and grave slabs may yet be seen. Layton's letter to Cromwell, dated 1535, remarks of Dureford that it "might better be called Dirtforde—the poorest abbey I have seen . . . ."

At Easebourne, near Midhurst, are the remains of the small Augustinian priory, founded, by a member of the family of Bohun, probably about the middle of the thirteenth century. It was most likely a refuge of noble or genteel poverty, as a record of its inmates proves them to have been well-born and members of important families.[2] In 1442 Bishop Praty visited the house and found it in debt to the extent of £40, chiefly, it was declared, by reason of the extravagance of the prioress, who feasted too much, rode abroad with unnecessary retinue, and wore rich clothing, as an example of which it was stated that the fur on her mantle was valued at one hundred shillings. By reason of this evidence the prioress was suspended, and it was ordered that she should "convert the fur trimmings superfluous to her condition and very costly, to the discharge of the debts of the house." In 1478 Bishop Story personally conducted an enquiry into the state of the priory, and if

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1 For a detailed account see "Shulbrede Priory," by Arthur Ponsonby, *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. lxix.

2 Among the names occurring between 1441 and 1534 are the following: Margaret Sackfilde, Alicia Hill, Agnes Howes, Johanna Farnfold, Cecilia Craddock, Agnes Taulke, Matilda Astom, Johanna Crackelynge, Johanna Stevyn, Margaret Lightnore, Fredeswyda Conand, Margaret Pratt, Helena Hill, and Alicia Parker.—*Visitations of Bishop Praty* (1441) *and Bishop Sherburn* (1521).

the life and conversation of its inmates were but half as scandalous as was stated, there is no question but that its ultimate suppression was amply justified.[1] Moreover, such evidence as was forthcoming at this date may be regarded with less suspicion than that accumulated by Richard Layton, more than fifty years later, with the express object of furthering the dissolution.

The refectory is now a barn, and the dormitory and some other portions of the original may still be traced. Part of the old buildings has been incorporated in a modern dwelling-house. The south wall of the parish church of Easebourne formed one side of the cloisters of the nunnery.

Boxgrove Priory, near Chichester, was one of the more important monastic houses, and responsible for greater economic work than many others. Its founder was Robert de Haye, and the date of its establishment early in the twelfth century. Among the injunctions given to the prior and convent in 1518 by Bishop Sherborne appears the following:

> We order that you should nourish no dogs, birds, or hawks, but that if any fragments should remain they should be given to the poor.

"My Lord Prior," it seems, was noted for an archer (*pro sagittario*), who wasted his time in "forbidden sports and in unlawful matches," and the monks were strictly forbidden to wear "boots with turned-down tops and tied with many laces," lest "so detestable a custom should become established."[2] The last prior, Thomas Miles, according to Layton, was "a gret husbonde and kepeth gret hospitalitie."

Lord la Warr, owner of Halnaker, in a letter dated Lady Day, 1536, petitions against the threatened

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1 It would almost seem that this remote priory served as a kind of reformatory for young women of good family who had strayed from the path of virtue.—*Victoria History of Sussex*, vol. ii.

2 *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. ix.

destruction of the priory, and asks that if the house be dissolved, the property may be granted to him. The writer of the letter terms it "my power howse callyd Boxgrave, very near to my power house callyd Halnaker, whereof I am founder [*sic.*]; and there lyeth many of my Aunsystorys, and also my wyffy's mother." Continuing, he states that his "paryshe churche ys under the roofe of the churche of the saide monastery," and that he has there "a power Chappele to be buryed in." This chapel is the beautiful building on the south side of the nave, containing an altar of highly florid Gothic character. The church of Boxgrove is one of the most interesting in the county, and contains many canopied altar-tombs. The remains of the buildings of the priory are few, but the entrance to the chapter-house shows three Norman arches, and the ruins of the prior's lodge, or possibly the refectory, also exist. The thirteenth century seal of Boxgrove bears a representation of the church.

At Hardham, anciently Heringham, a mile south of Pulborough, are the considerable remains of a priory which certainly existed prior to 1263, by Sir William Dawtrey. The entrance to the chapter-house, dating from the early thirteenth century, is a fine example of the architecture of the period, and there is much attractive work besides. A marble chimney-piece in one of the bedrooms of the farmhouse is ornamented with a row of small shields alternating with barrels or tuns. Upon each shield are the letters "W. P."

In the space available it is not practicable to make more than passing mention of the history of the great Cluniac priory of St. Pancras, at Lewes, the picturesque walls of which lie close to the railway. The founders were William de Warenne and his wife Gundrada, who persuaded the abbot of Cluny, in 1076, to send over one Lanzo and three monks. The church, long destroyed, was of exceptional size; but in 1264, when the monastery was the headquarters of Henry's army, before the battle

of Lewes, the buildings were sadly desecrated. The priory ruins are battered and shapeless now, though, together with the gardens and ponds, they once covered forty acres. Many of the old houses in the town of Lewes bear witness to the fact that the inhabitants, after the Dissolution, seized the stonework for building purposes, to which cause much of the decay may be attributed.[1] The possessions of the priory extended throughout England, and included no less than fifty-six churches in Sussex.

The life of the monks appears to have been more spiritual than in many of the smaller establishments, although the house was, at times, considerably in debt. Layton, in 1535, found "unspeakable abominations," which probably existed in his own imagination. Two years later, when the priory was surrendered, the monks numbered twenty-three, little more than half the number at one time resident. Earl de Warenne and his wife, together with many notable persons, were buried in the priory church. On the making of the railway, which crosses the site of the high altar, the bones of the founders were unearthed and were then deposited in a small chapel built for their reception in the church of Southover, near by. Formerly there stood to the south-west of the ruins a magnificent dove-house of cruciform design, and "equalling in magnitude many a parish church." It held accommodation for three thousand two hundred birds, but was destroyed early in the nineteenth century.

In consequence of the intimate connection between Normandy and this country subsequent to the Conquest, many alien priories existed in Sussex. Of these

1 Lewes, one of Cromwell's commissioners, wrote to him from Warwick as follows: "The power people thorowly in every place be so greedy upon thes howsys, when they be suppressed, that by night and day, not only of the towne, but also of the countrye, they do continually resortt as long as any dore, wyndoo, yren, or glasse, or lowse ledde remaynethe in any of them."

St. Pancras' Priory, Lewes.

Wilmington was one, and its suppression in 1414 renders it difficult to obtain much information regarding its history. Its records may have been transmitted to the Benedictine abbey of Grestein, of which it was a cell. It is probable that this priory was built about the middle of the thirteenth century. Its situation was chosen with taste, being pleasantly sheltered under the downland. Such remains as exist now form part of a farmhouse. The principal room has a groined roof and a chamber over it; but the most interesting portion is the cellar, with low hexagonal pillars, which appear to be quite unaltered. The gateway tower dates from the time of Henry VI. or later, the square mullioned windows belonging to the period when the Chapter of Chichester founded a chantry there.

Michelham Priory, founded by Gilbert of Laigle in 1229, was designed for Augustinian or Black Canons. The conventual buildings occupied a quadrangle of nearly eight acres, and were surrounded by a moat and guarded by a drawbridge. Near by ran the road from Lewes to Rye and Hastings, and, in a petition to the bishop, the prior complained that "the nobles of the kingdom and other travellers frequently turned aside there," occasioning "the exercise of much hospitality."

In the Tudor farmhouses may be seen the prior's chamber, the monks' lavatory, the crypt (now used as a dairy), a hooded stone fireplace, and some good oak panelling. The arched passage, known as Isaac's Hole, may have been the prison. A fine fifteenth century gateway forms the approach over the Cuckmere, and the old mill still adds its charm to the scene. The possessions of the priory were constantly subject to the inundations of the sea, which "overwhelmed much arable and productive land," and, in 1398, the churches of Alfriston and Fletching were assigned to Michelham by way of compensation. The land in question was chiefly situated at Pevensey and Willingdon, and at this date the marshes,

or "levels," were subject to continual inroads of the sea. A visitation, held in the chapter-house in 1441, limited the prior's household to "one chaplain, one cook, and one valet to transact business and attend the door, and one page of the kitchen." Moreover, the prior was to content himself with "four horses in his stable."

Not far distant from Michelham is Otham, where are the remains of an abbey of Premonstratensian Canons, founded by Ralph de Dene about the year 1180. The situation of the house was so unhealthy, and the lands—mostly in the marshes—so unprofitable, that, in 1208, it was removed to Bayham, on the borders of Kent. Otham was, however, kept up as a grange, and the desecrated chapel, with fourteenth century windows, sedile and piscina, may still be seen there. At Bayham are the picturesque ruins of the abbey to which the canons removed. Such details as remain are of thirteenth and fourteenth century date, and the arches of the refectory, portions of the dormitories, and the quire and eastern transepts, are worthy of attention. When Bishop Redman visited the house in 1482, the buildings were "in utter ruin, so that without immediate and diligent repair the whole were in danger of falling to the ground," and he left injunctions that the dormitory, refectory, bakehouse, hall and other parts should be speedily repaired.

The ministrations of the Premonstratensians seem to have been valued by the neighbourhood in which they had settled, for Grafton's *Chronicle* gives an account of a riot which took place shortly after the suppression of the abbey in 1526, when a

riotous company, disguised and unknowne, with painted faces and visors, came to the same monasterie, and brought with them the chanons, and put them in their place againe, and promised them that whensoever they rang the bell, they would come with a great power and defend them. Thys doinge came to the eare of the king's counsayle, which caused the chanons to be taken, and they confessed the capitaynes, which were imprisoned and punished.

The great abbey of St. Martin, at Battle, founded by Norman William as a votive offering for his victory, and as the fulfilment of a vow made before the battle of Hastings, was one of the most important establishments in Sussex.

The first abbot was appointed in 1076, and the consecration took place in 1095. The abbot, and his successors, had many privileges. When summoned to Parliament he was allowed "food, wine, and wax candles for himself and two monks, and his attendance was further simplified by the grant of a residence in London and in Winchester." When passing through the royal forests he was permitted to "kill and take one or two beasts with his dogs." The abbey appears to have been well regulated, and the visitations do not mention any serious evils. Layton, it is true, in 1535, makes gross accusations against both abbot and monks, statements which cannot be accepted without suspicion, and which were probably circulated with especial intent to expedite the Dissolution. The splendour of the house appears to have been greatly abated, for Layton writes:

> So beggarly a house I never see, nor so filthy stuff. I will not 20s. for all the hangings in this house, as the bearer can tell you. The revestry is the worst and poorest that is. There is one cope of crimson velvet somewhat embroidered, one of green velvet embroidered, and two of blue rusty and soiled. If you wish any of these send me word and you shall have the best, but so many evil I never see, the stuff is like the persons.

The two earliest seals of the abbey depict the church, the later of the two being of thirteenth century date. The site of Battle Abbey, at the time of the Dissolution one of the wealthiest houses in England, was granted in 1538 to Sir Anthony Browne, who converted the buildings into a dwelling-house. The gateway is probably the work of Abbot Bethunge, who obtained a license to embattle (12 Edward III.); and among other

interesting remains are the ancient pilgrims' hospital, the *Locutorium*, and certain of the abbot's private apartments. The cloisters and the refectory, with its vaulted chambers beneath, should be noticed; also the site of the high altar, which stood upon the very spot where Harold fell.

Not far distant from Battle, at Robertsbridge, may be seen the crypt, some walls of the church, and part of the refectory of the Cistercian abbey founded in 1176 by Alured de St. Martin. Tiles have been found here bearing the arms of the Sussex families of Pelham, Warenne, Lewknor, Harcourt, and Echingham. Thomas Taylor, the last abbot, surrendered the house to the King in April, 1539, receiving a pension of £50 a year.

The thirteenth century seal of Robertsbridge shows the church. The possessions of the monastery suffered considerably from the ravages of the sea, but it is probable that the monks reclaimed much of the wild country in the neighbourhood.

Among lesser monastic remains of interest must be mentioned the Augustinian priory of Pynham, or De Calceto, near Arundel, founded by Queen Adeliza, second wife to Henry I., who subsequently married William Albini, Earl of Arundel. Among the duties of the inmates of Pynham was the repairing of the causeway and wooden bridge over the river, and the maintenance of a hostelry for poor travellers. Some fragments of the walls of the original building are incorporated in a farmhouse, and retain some thirteenth century work.

At Rye are slight remains of the house of Austin Friars—the only settlement of that order in the county—and also of the chapel of the Carmelites, probably connected with the friary at Newenden.

At Winchelsea are the attractive ruins of the Grey

Ruined Chapel of the Grey Friars, Winchelsea.

Friars, established before 1253.[1] At Tortington, Poling, Warbleton, and Chichester will also be found certain remains—at Tortington and Warbleton they are extremely scanty—of monastic houses which once flourished there.

The Knights Hospitallers' house at Poling, near Arundel, also retains some well-preserved remains of twelfth and fourteenth century date.

1 The great seal of Winchelsea shows at its base what tradition declares to be a representation of the religious houses of the place. From this it would appear that they were tiled buildings of a single story, resembling in size and detail the well-known Béguinage in the city of Ghent.—F. A. Inderwick's *Winchelsea*.

LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS

By M. Jourdain

IT was Tennyson who once declared, in passing through an ancient hamlet in West Sussex, "What good luck to be born in this county of quaint and lovely names! and where else would one find a peasant called Oswald Paris or Stephen Songthrush?" It is, however, singular that this county, with its long coast-line of seventy miles on the Channel, the threshold of England, as it has been called, has as yet produced no man of genius to stamp its lineaments on our minds, perhaps because it is one of the most thoroughly Saxon of counties. It may be claimed that it has given some few great names to poetic and dramatic literature—Shelley, Collins, Otway, Fletcher. But all four were but slightly connected with the county in their lives, and so up to the present moment little has been done to associate them with their birthplaces. What is there to link Fletcher with Rye, or Shelley with Horsham? The earliest of Sussex-born poets was Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset, a poet of singular originality, who was born at Buckhurst in 1530, of a family "of the most ancient extraction and the most honourable standing." His *Gorboduc* is the first organic drama in the English tongue, and *Mirror of Magistrates* was once renowned. He was Lord Treasurer, a close favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and one of those who were appointed to try Mary Queen of Scots. He died while sitting at the council table at Whitehall, April 19th, 1608. A later

poet Sackville is still better known—Charles, the sixth earl,[1] the patron of poets, the friend of Charles II., the "Buckhurst" of Pepys, the "Middlesex" of Grammont, for whom Pope wrote the epitaph "for the tomb at Withyam,"

Dorset, the grace of Courts, the Muses' pride.

Pope's epitaph, however, is not to be seen upon the tomb at Withyham.

Three worthies, born in Sussex in the late sixteenth but active in the succeeding century, are John Fletcher,[2] Thomas May, and Selden, the great jurist. Fletcher, the greatest of the three, the partner of Beaumont in "the same clothes and cloak," with other necessaries of life specified by Aubrey, though born in the ancient town of Rye, where his father, Dr. Richard Fletcher,[3] was minister, like other playwrights, has his centre of interest in London, and died in Southwark of the great plague. He mentions Sussex once—the "dragons in Sussex"—in a late play of his unaided composition, "*Wit Without Money*."[4]

Of Thomas May, play writer, poet, eldest son of a Sir Thomas May, of Mayfield,[5] the most memorable thing is his strange death, for, according to à Wood, "going well to bed he was therein found next morning dead, occasioned, as some say, by tying his nightcap too close under his fat chin and cheeks, which choked him when he turned on the other side."

The third of the three—one who was considered by Hugo Grotius to be "the glory of the English nation"—John Selden, was born at Salvington, near West Tarring. Aubrey, who gives the account of Selden's

1 1637-1706.
2 1579-1625.
3 Richard Fletcher—*præsul splendidus*, as Camden calls him—became successively Bishop of Bristol, of Worcester, and of London.
4 ii., 4.
5 Thomas May, 1595-1650.

parentage, states that "his father was a yeomanly man of about forty pounds a year, who played well upon the violin, in which he took much delight, and at Christmas-time, to please himself and his neighbours, he would play to them as they danced"; and Anthony à Wood has it that this same talent got him for a wife a woman of good family. The elder Selden's talents seem to have been more remarkable than his estate and position, and he appears in an entry on the church registers at Tarring as "John Selden the minstrell."[1]

Within an arrow's flight from the cottage where Selden was born is the mansion of Offington, in Selden's day the residence of a Sir Thomas Alford, with whom the young lawyer was dining one Christmas-time while his father was fiddling in the hall. Selden sat "at the lower end of the table, and was looked upon to be of parts extraordinary, and somebody asking who he was, it was replied, 'His son that is playing the violin in the hall.'"

The boy is said, at the age of ten, to have carved over the door of his home a Latin distich, which, being translated, runs:—

> Walk in and welcome, honest friend; repose.
> Thief, get thee gone! to thee I'll not unclose.[2]

Pope lends an interest to West Grinstead, as there is a tradition that the *Rape of the Lock* was written beneath a fine old oak in the well-wooded park. At West Grinstead John Caryll, Pope's friend, made his home, moving hither from West Harting, and it was Caryll who suggested to Pope the subject of the poem, the hero of which was his own cousin, Lord Petre. It is curious that there is so often a tradition that the most urban of poets, like Pope, and Gay at Amesbury, wrote

[1] The baptismal entry of the "great Selden's" birth runs: "1584. John the sonne of John Selden the minstrell was baptised the xx day of December."

[2] It is stated in the *Biographica Britannica* that "this smart epigram was a remarkable specimen of his genius at ten years of age," whilst he was a scholar at the free school at Chichester.

Thomas Otway.

in the solitude of the open air, amid the picturesque paraphernalia of inspiration. In Pope's correspondence with Caryll he frequently refers to visits paid to his friend in Sussex. On one occasion he was pleased with a particular wine in his host's cellar, for on his return home he writes[1]:—

> I beg you to do me a familiar or rather domestic piece of service. It is when a hogshead of good French wine falls into your hands, *whether out of the skies or whatever element* that pays no customs—that you would favour me with twelve dozen of it at the price you give.

He evidently considered "the necessity under which all polite people lie of drinking, and of drinking only French wine," so imperative, that he sends his orders to the Sussex smugglers with as little reserve as if he were doing business with his wine-merchant—and very soon gets what he wants.

The three great poets born in Sussex—Otway, Collins, and Shelley—have one point in common: the misfortune of an early death.

Otway,[2] who was born at Trotton, near Midhurst, was the only son of Humphrey Otway, curate of Trotton, and afterwards rector of the neighbouring Woolbeding. Humphrey Otway was poor, and left his son (the latter tells us) no inheritance beyond his loyalty. A silver flagon still used in Holy Communion bears an inscription that it was the gift of Humphrey Otway's widow[3]:—*Ex dono Elizabethæ Otway, relictæ Humfredi Otway, Eccles. de Woolbeding rectoris, Nov.* 13, 1703.

In his school vacations Thomas Otway seems to have spent a part of his leisure in scribbling scraps of Latin over the parish registers of Woolbeding, where "his signature may still be seen attached to many irrelevant Latin quotations"; and in some lines in the beginning

1 August 22nd, 1717.
2 1652-1685.
3 A successor was appointed to the rectory in 1670, which was doubtless the year of Humphrey Otway's death.

of his autobiographical poem, the *Poet's Complaint to his Muse*, there is a very sharply-bitten etching of the Sussex Downs in their disconsolate and malign aspect—

> Far from any Path, but where the earth
> Was bare and naked all as at her Birth;

when the poet, "whose muse was crazy grown," wanders to

> A high Hill, where never yet stood Tree,
> Where only Heath, coarse Fern, and Furzes grow,
> Where (nipt by piercing Air)
> The Flocks in tatter'd Fleeces hardly graze.

But Otway was early lost to Sussex, and died miserably when only thirty-three. He is buried in St. Clement Danes, but a tablet to his memory is in Trotton church.

It was left for another Sussex poet to link Otway's name with the river Arun—or more properly the Rother, a tributary of the Arun, that runs by the village of Trotton. In Collins' "Ode to Pity" we read:—

> But wherefore need I wander wide
> To old Ilissus' distant side,
> Deserted stream, and mute?
> Wild Arun, too, has heard thy strains,
> And Echo, 'midst my native plains,
> Been soothed by Pity's lute.
> There first the wren thy myrtles shed
> On gentlest Otway's infant head.

Collins, like Otway, belongs to the West of Sussex. He was born at Chichester on Christmas Day, 1721,[1] and was probably sent to the prebendal school until he went to Winchester. His father, the Mayor of Chichester, a hatter, from whom Pope's friend Caryll bought his hats, "was not a manufacturer of hats, but the vender. He lived in a genteel style at Chichester." The younger Collins, "too indolent even for the army," was recommended to take orders, and seems to have pursued the matter so far as to obtain a title to a curacy near

[1] 1721-1759.

William Collins.

Chichester, but in the end he was persuaded to remain a layman. When his uncle left him a small fortune he retired to Chichester,[1] and his irresolute career was practically closed before the end of the half-century, and before Gray came prominently before the public. In his decline—he drifted into absolute melancholia—he collected a library containing some curious old books, to which there are references in Thomas Warton's *History of Poetry*. He is mentioned by Goldsmith, in 1759, in the *Polite Literature of Europe*, as "still alive—happy if insensible of our neglect, not raging at our ingratitude." At the last he lived in his sister's house at Chichester hopelessly insane, and was released at last by death, neglected by the world and scarcely remembered by his friends. In the cathedral there is a monument to his memory, where he is "represented as just recovered from a fit of phrensy, to which he was unhappily subject," in a reclining position; and no place is more closely associated with him, for by daylight and dark he used to wander in the aisles and cloisters of the building "accompanying the music with loud sobs and lamentations."

Collins is Chichester's greatest poet, but she had many minor bards. There is George Smith, one of three Smiths who were all artists; there is also a Daniel Foot of the same city, though to include him among the poets at all is to lay oneself open to "the reproach of having ferried over to the opposite side some manes of a very inferior sort,"[2] while many worthy ones remain on the wrong shore of the Styx. Still, there is something of pathos, and not a little of the absurd, in the short account of him in Hay's *History of Chichester*. The son of a "respectable tradesman" in Chichester, Daniel Foot[3]

1 He was at that time only twenty-eight years of age, but no further writings of his have been preserved.

2 *Worthies of Sussex*. Mark Anthony Lower.

3 Born about 1754.

published "*Poems on Various Occasions*"—(which seems to-day a somewhat well-worn title)—which were "well received among his neighbours, chiefly on account of his excellent moral character." A few days before his death he walked into the country, "and happening to light on a spot abounding with ripe hedge-picks, a wild fruit he was fond of, he unfortunately ate more of them than his stomach could afford";[1] and that is the last of Daniel Foot.

Of Collins' friendship with Gilbert White—a writer whom Hampshire claims, but who is also connected with Sussex—we have no account save the bare mention of the fact. But it has been imagined that that keen observer would teach the poet something of his patient skill in observation. Gilbert White's correct position with regard to Sussex has been stated in detail thus:—

> For at least forty years (1754-1792) Gilbert White was an East Harting squire. The bulk of his property was at Woodhouse, and Nye Woods, on the northern slope of East Harting. White had also other Harting lands. These were upon the Downs, viz.: a portion of the park of Uppark on the south side, and a portion of Kildevil Lane, on the North Marden side of Harting Hill.

But not only some of his property, but much of his interests lie on the Sussex side; and he is very often over the border, telling of the old "Sussex" tortoise, the "duck"[2] killed in the parish of Trotton in the winter of 1708-9, with a silver collar about his neck, on which were engraven the arms of the King of Denmark; the lovely "prospects and rides near Lewes"; and the bustards on the wild downs "near Brighthelmstone."

Hayley, the friend of genius, who (as Horace Walpole said of Spence) was a good-natured, harmless little soul, more like a silver penny than a genius; and Blake, who was for a short time his associate, need not be more than

[1] Hay's *History of Chichester*.
[2] In all probability a cormorant used for catching fish.

mentioned here, their associations being dealt with elsewhere in this volume.

Hayley was a link between poets of all degrees of eminence of his day. At Eartham, where Hayley had a house, Hurdis met Cowper; and the former's epitaph at Bishopstone was provided by Hayley, who seems to have had a *penchant* for the writing of epitaphs. Hurdis is a very minor poet, but a poem of his, *The Favourite Village, Printed at the Author's own Press, Bishopstone, Sussex*, 1800, is of some local interest, for Bishopstone, a downland village out of sight but not out of hearing of the sea, is the "favourite village." He has a long passage upon the subject of catching wheatears characteristic of the Sussex Downs, describing how,

> When the fevered cloud of August days
> Flits through the blue expanse . . .
> The timorous wheatear, fearful of the shade,
> Trips to the hostile shelter of a clod,
> And where she sought protection finds a snare.

The author resolves to "pay the pence of ransom," that is, to free the birds from the coops and leave their market price instead—a manœuvre that, if indulged in often, would have had the effect of encouraging wheatear-catching. And "when the tender-hearted clergyman-poet left his pence for the birds which he took from the coops merely to set them free, his neighbours must have regarded him as an exceedingly eccentric person."

Another visitor at Eartham[1] was Charlotte Smith,[2] a very minor sonneteer and novelist, the daughter of Nicholas Turner, of Bignor Park, who was all her life very true to Sussex both in her work and in her homes—she was at school at Chichester, and lived for some time at Woolbeding and at Brighton, while her thin quarto

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1 She visited Hayley at Eartham in 1792, and met there Cowper, and probably Romney.

2 1749-1806.

volume of sonnets[1] was printed at Chichester and dedicated to Hayley, a neighbour of her family. A century ago her name was as well known as that of Mrs. Hemans was later; to-day it is unknown, and her poems and novels are unread, nor will they be "discovered," though she is said to have had the eye and mind of a landscape poet.

Charles Crocker,[2] one of the indifferent poets born at Chichester, seems rather a shadow haunting the cathedral of his birthplace than a substantial being. His whole life is bound up with Chichester. As a boy he was sent to the Greycoat School of the city, but before he was twelve years old he was apprenticed to a shoemaker—"a circumstance which he considered rather favourable than otherwise to the improvement of his intellect"! Afterwards he became sexton of the cathedral, and some years later bishop's verger. His death-blow was the fate of the tower and spire, which fell suddenly in a heap of rubbish, in February, 1861, and "although all Chichester bewailed the sad catastrophe, no man felt it like poor Crocker." That it shortened the thread of his days there is little doubt; he died in October of the same year.

Though we may call Shelley[3] the Sussex poet, it is difficult to trace any of his inspiration to the scenery of his county. Field Place, his birthplace, is still very much

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1 Her sonnets are often associated with the neighbourhood and the banks of the Arun:

> Farewell, Aruna, on whose varied shore
> My early vows were paid at Nature's shrine!
> . . . sighing I resign
> Thy solitary beauties, and no more
> Or on thy rocks or in thy woods recline,
> Or on the heath, by moonlight lingering, pore
> On air-drawn phantoms.

2 1797-1861. One of Crocker's sonnets, "To the British Oak" (a very mediocre poem), was pronounced by Southey to be one of the best in the language.

3 1792-1822. "On the whole, no Sussex family has maintained for several centuries a higher character than that of Shelley."—*M. A. Lower.*

what it was in Shelley's boyhood, the only days it was a home to him, for a "singularly uncongenial" father (for the cursing of whom and the King the boy was famous at Eton) made him glad to avoid the county when he was older. The dull, rambling house lies low, darkened by the surrounding trees. There is no view. But the folk-lore of the adjoining forest must have caught hold of his boyish imagination—St. Leonard's Forest, with its tradition that although the country round (as Andrew Borde reports) "ys replenysshed with nyghtyngales, they will never singe within the precincts of the foreste, as divers keepers and other credible parsons dyd show me." And St. Leonard's dragon perhaps reappears in Shelley's childish make-believes of the "great old snake" that he fabled to haunt the garden at Field Place, and the "great tortoise" that dwelt in the deeps of Warnham Pond, to which any strange noise was always attributed, and where one of Shelley's greatest amusements was to manage a boat. The fine grey, many-gabled mansion of Cuckfield Place he also knew; and in particular the park with its spreading prospects, its picturesque views of the hall, seemed to him "like bits of Mrs. Radcliffe"—no faint praise at the time that Shelley spoke it!

The north of Sussex is also linked with another great lyric poet, Tennyson, who lived his last years at Aldworth, on the slopes of Blackdown. Here he laid the foundation-stone of his house on April 23rd, 1868, upon which the inscription was, "Prosper Thou the work of our hands, O prosper Thou our handiwork." Of this site another poet, Aubrey de Vere, wrote:—

> It lifted England's great poet to a height from which he could gaze on a large portion of that English land which he loved so well, seeing it basking in its most affluent summer beauty, and only bounded by the inviolate sea.

Of this view from Blackdown Tennyson used to say that its great want was the sight of "a full-fed river winding slowly through the landscape"—a desideratum

indeed in many spots in Sussex. From Blackdown, however, the views over the Weald, bounded by the Leith Hill range and the Downs, are perhaps finer than from any other point; and here was to be seen Tennyson's

> Green Sussex fading into blue,
> With one grey glimpse of sea;

the "grey glimpse" being near Littlehampton, seen over the Arundel gap in the Downs.

The last years of Richard Jefferies, as of Tennyson, were spent in Sussex. He lies in Goring. Like Gilbert White, he is eloquent upon the Sussex Downs, which reminded him of the Wiltshire Downs he knew so well. He writes:—

> On a summer's day Wolstonbury Hill is an island in sunshine; you may lie on the grassy rampart, high up in the most delicate air—quick air, pellucid—alone among the butterflies and humming bees at the thyme, alone and isolated, endless masses of hills on three sides, endless weald and valley on the fourth; all warmly lit with sunshine, deep under liquid sunshine like sands under the liquid sea, no harshness of man-made sound to break the isolation amid nature on an island in the far Pacific of sunshine.

Living in the actual present, he was quick to catch the peculiarities, to study the dialect of the shepherds, the downland life of bird and beast in Sussex, and there are many Sussex-coloured descriptions[1] scattered about in Jefferies' books, but as he had a way of blending his experiences, and rarely giving the names of places, it is difficult to know exactly what spot in Sussex he is writing of.

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[1] Notably "To Brighton," "The South Down Shepherd," "The Breeze on Beachy Head," in *Nature near London;* "Clematis Lane," "Nature near Brighton," "Sea, Sky, and Down," and "January in the Sussex Woods," in *The Life of the Fields;* "Sunny Brighton," in *The Open-Air:* and "The Country-side, Sussex," and "Buckhurst Park," in *Field and Hedgerow.*

SUSSEX BRASSES

By the Rev. Herbert W. Macklin

SUSSEX is rich in monumental brasses, and many of them are of the highest interest and importance.

Excluding modern examples, the whole range of existing brasses in England covers about five hundred years, from 1277 (Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey) to 1773 (St. Mary Cray, Kent), though there are few examples later than the period of the Commonwealth.

In Sussex the earliest known brass is that of Margarete de Camoys, *circa* 1310, at Trotton, near Midhurst, and this is followed by a most interesting series of other figure-brasses down to the year 1638, the date of the shrouded effigy of Mary, the wife of Sir William Howard, at West Firle. Simple inscriptions, without figures, carry the history onwards for at least another hundred years, when we meet with a plate to Captain Charles Barttelot, 1738, at Stopham, the last of a long series of ancient brasses to members of this distinguished family. Indeed the series may be said to have continued to the present day, for after the lapse of a century and a half the custom has been revived, and there is a modern brass in Stopham church to Major Barttelot, killed, in 1888, when he was with Stanley in Central Africa, besides others engraved in recent years.

But the best period in Sussex is that of the fifteenth century, which has produced a number of brasses of the

first rank. There is, for instance, no finer canopy in all England than that which adorns the brass of Prior Nelond, at Cowfold, while the military brasses at Fletching, Trotton, Wiston, Etchingham, and West Grinstead are amongst the very best of their type, as are also the splendid canopied and coped priests at Pulborough, Broadwater, and Warbleton.

The interest of the county brasses is, as usual, most varied, and touches upon many different lines of investigation. Architecture is suggested, not only by the engraved canopies which surmount many of the best brasses, but also by the high tombs on which they are often placed, and, indeed, by their very position within the churches. The number of Tudor recessed tombs, with brasses inserted either on the covering-stone or at the back of the arched recess, is unusually large, and some of these appear to have been used as Easter sepulchres. Heraldry is in constant evidence in armorial shields, badges, collars, and in arms engraved upon dresses, tabards, and military jupons. Historical association is prominent in such brasses as those of Lord Camoys, who commanded the left wing at Agincourt, and his wife Lady Percy, the widow of Harry Hotspur; of John Mapylton, Chancellor to Queen Joan of Navarre and Rector of Broadwater; or of Sir John Gage, K.G., Constable of the Tower of London, at West Firle. Genealogy and family history are recorded in the many brasses of the Culpepers, at Ardingly; the Shelleys, at Clapham and Warminghurst; the Gages, at West Firle and Framfield; the Shurleys, at Isfield; the Bowyers, at Cuckfield and Mundham; the Coverts, at Slaugham; and the Barttelots, at Stopham. There are little groups of collegiate clergy at Arundel, of castle officials at Arundel and Stopham, of citizens of Hastings and Rye. The inscriptions exhibit constant changes in style, language, and lettering.

The brass of Margarete de Camoys, at Trotton, is

not only the first in Sussex, but the earliest existing brass in any country of a lady, and notable in many ways. In its original condition the brass was a very fine one, for the unpolished black marble slab, still lying in the midst of the nave, shows matrices of a cusped and crocketed canopy with side shafts and pinnacles, eight shields of arms, and a border inscription in separate Lombardic characters, still quite legible, although the letters are gone:

MARGARETE : DE : CAMOYS : GIST : ICI.
DEVS : DE : SA : ALME : EIT : MERCI : AMEN.

There were also thirty-one small stars and other devices inserted at vacant spaces within and above the canopy. The life-sized figure of the lady alone remains. She wears a loose-fitting robe with short sleeves, showing below them the sleeves of her kirtle, tightly buttoned to the wrist. Her head and neck are covered with a veil and wimple, which muffle her to the chin, and she has an ornamented fillet across the forehead, below which are two short side-curls. A similar figure occurs in the brass of Joan de Cobham, *circa* 1320, at Cobham, Kent, together with its graceful canopy. But the Trotton lady was further distinguished by a series of nine small enamelled shields, of which only the sockets remain, arranged in threes upon her robe. These would have been fired upon copper trays and inserted after the brass was made, in the usual manner of Limoges enamels. A like arrangement may be seen on the surcoat of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1296, in Westminster Abbey, a nobleman who had himself resided much, at different times, in the town of Limoges.

There are no other Sussex brasses of the first period, though several sculptured stone effigies serve to illustrate the times when knights wore complete suits of chain mail and long linen surcoats. Such may be found at Southover, in the supposed figure of John de Braose of

Bramber, 1232, and also at Horsted Keynes, Sullington, and especially at Winchelsea, in the beautiful tombs of Gervase and Stephen Alard, Admirals of the Cinque Ports. The further change from surcoat to cyclas may also be seen at Ifield, where the early fourteenth century effigies of Sir John d'Ifield and his wife are of particular interest.

A little group of military brasses of the later Plantagenet period must now be considered. These are, first, a small and mutilated figure at Bodiam, *circa* 1360, supposed to represent John Bodiham, and bearing upon his jupon the arms of the family, *Or, a fess dancettée (sable) bezantée;* next an unknown man in armour, at Ticehurst, *circa* 1370; then, at Fletching, an unidentified member of the Dalyngruge family, with his wife, *circa* 1380; and at Etchingham, Sir Wm. de Echingham (1388), whose effigy has, unfortunately, lost its head. To these must be added Sir Wm. Fienlez, 1402, at Hurstmonceux. All wear the leather or cloth jupon over a shirt of mail and breastplate, defences of plate armour upon the arms, legs, and feet, and a camail of mail upon the neck and shoulders, laced to a pointed steel bascinet. It is the panoply of Chaucer's "verray parfit gentil knight," for

> Of fustian he wered a gipoun
> Al bismotered with his habergeoun,

or of the followers of Palamon in the tournament, of whom

> Som wol ben armed in an habergeoun,
> In a prest-plat and in a light gipoun.

The Fletching brass, illustrated in Boutell's series, is the most important of the group, and occupies a high tomb in the south transept of the church. It possesses also a fine double canopy, with central as well as side shafts, supporting the two pediments. The lady wears a kirtle, buttoned to the waist, and a mantle, and has a dog at

Memorial Slab and Brass of Margarete de Camoys
in Trotton Church, *circa* 1310.

her feet. The knight, as at Bodiam, is distinguished by armorial bearings upon his jupon: *(Argent) a cross engrailed (gules).* The Ticehurst example is of medium size, and has been appropriated to serve as part of the later memorial to John Wybarne, Esq., who died in 1490, and his two wives Edith and Agnes. The second wife, by will dated 20th February, 1502, and proved 25th November, 1503, desired her body to be buried in the chancel of Ticehurst church, in her husband's grave there, before the image of our Lady, and directed her executors "to bye a convenient stone to laye upon my husband John Wybarne's grave and myne." The executors seem to have simply appropriated the earlier brass, and to have added a new inscription and the figures of the two ladies, represented in Tudor pedimental head-dresses, and only about half the size of their supposed husband. The effect, to those who know, is somewhat ridiculous.

At Etchingham and Hurstmonceux we have large and handsome figures, both originally placed under graceful single canopies, of which the latter alone remains. Of the former nothing is left but the base of one of the shafts upon the sinister side. Both brasses have inscriptions of more than common interest. Over the matrix of the lost head of the earlier knight there is a semi-circular scroll declaring him to be the rebuilder of the church, in honour of God and of the Assumption of the blessed Mary and of St. Nicholas:

> Iste Willm̄s fecit ista eccl̄iam de nouo reedificari
> in honore | dei & assūpc̄ois beate marie & sc̄i Nichī
> qui q̊dm̄ | fuit fili' Jacobi de Echinghm̄ Militis

The foot inscription is an excellent example of the earlier Norman-French rhyming verse. It is written continuously in four lines, which are here divided at their proper intervals:

De terre fu fet & fourme.
et en terre su (fu) retourne:
William de Echinghm | estoie nome.
dieu de malme eiez pitee:
Et vous qi par ici passez
pur | lalme de moy pur dieu priez:
Qi de Januere le xviii io (jour)
de cy passai lan nr̄e (notre) | seignour
Milt trois Centz quat vintz oept
come dieu volait ento my noet.

The last three words may seem puzzling. Apparently they mean that he died at "about midnight."

The Hurstmonceux inscription is engraved upon a border fillet about the margin of the slab, and is remarkable for the grant of pardon with which it concludes:

William ffienlez Chiualer qy moruse le xviii jour de Janeuer lan del Incarnion nr̄e . . Jhēu Cryst Milt cccc 2 gist ycy . . . . . qy pur sa alme deuostement pater noster & ave priera vi^{xx} jours de pardon enauera.

Other early pardon brasses occur at Cobham, Kent, *circa* 1320, and Hellesden, Norfolk, 1370; and in Sussex there is an inscription in Lombardic capitals on the despoiled slab of a brass to Reynaud Alard, 1354, representing him in the head of a graceful octofoil floriated cross, at Winchelsea, which reads as follows:

+ REYNAVD ALARD QE MORVST LE XV IOVR DAPRIL LAN MCCCLIIII GIST ICY DIEV DE SALME EIT MERCI QE PVR SALME PRIERA L IOVRS DE PARDOV̄ AVERA.

Lewes Priory had also a pardon epitaph, recorded in Dugdale's *Baronage* (p. 80), to John, seventh Earl Warren, who was buried in the midst of the choir before the high altar. It was in verse, and concluded with the following couplet:

Ky pur sa alme priera
Troiz mill jours de pardon avera.

Civilian brasses of the fourteenth century are found at Rusper, in the pair of demi-figures of John de

Kyggesfolde (Kingsfold) and his wife Agneys, *circa* 1370; and at Ore, *circa* 1400, where a man and wife and the pediments of two small canopies are all that remain of a brass from which an interesting bracket, upon which the figures stood, and its inscription, have long been lost. The original slab is unfortunately gone also, and the brass reset upon a new stone.

Except for an inscription with three Latin verses to Gilbert Frensche, 1374, at Findon, the one remaining fourteenth century brass introduces us to the mediæval clergy of Sussex, and it will be convenient to give an account of all of these together. Adam Ertham, 1382, lies in the Fitzalan chapel at Arundel, in that part of the parish church—chancel and lady-chapel—which is now separated from the nave by a wall, and only to be visited by special permission from the authorities at the castle. Here are nine brasses. Arundel was a collegiate church, established as such in 1380 by Richard, Earl of Arundel, who founded the College of the Holy Trinity out of the confiscated lands and revenue of the alien priory of St. Nicholas, a cell of the abbey of Seez, in Normandy. Ertham was the first master of the college. His is a demi-figure, with a French inscription, and he is peculiar in wearing a plain cope without ornament, the "cappa nigra" of the choir, which is very rarely seen in monumental effigies. The third master, Wm. Whyte, 1419, has no cope, but wears an almuce over his cassock and surplice, and, again, is the only example in the county. He has lost his inscription. A fellow of the college, John Baker, 1455, his inscription also lost, is represented in the ordinary eucharistic vestments—alb, amice, stole, maniple, and chasuble. But he too is noteworthy, for he exhibits his initials, arranged , on the vertical orphrey of his chasuble, a very rare position for any personal device. Two more priests, in eucharistic vestments, Esperaunce Blondell, Rector of Sutton, *circa* 1450, and Robert Warde, 1474,

one a half-effigy and the other at three-quarters length, were also probably connected with the college. A "sub-magister," John Mundy, 1506, holding a chalice, is now lost.

There are in the county seven other examples of priests in the eucharistic vestments. Those at Poling, to Walter Davy, vicar, *circa* 1450, and at St. Michael's, Lewes, to John Braydforde, rector, 1457, are small demi-figures. Four more are at full length, Walter Seller, rector, 1427, at Iden; Robert Clere, dean, *circa* 1430, at Battle; Robert Beuford, 1518, at Northiam; and Richard Idon, 1523, at Clayton. Idon bears a chalice and wafer, the latter inscribed I H C. Perhaps the Dean of Battle deserves a few words more, if it were only for the sake of the ingenious rhyming Latin inscription beneath his feet:

Decanus gratus Robertus Clere vocatus,
Prudens, sensatus, discretus, morigeratus
In terram stratus tacitus jacet hic tumulatus
Tu Deus oratus, precor, ejus tergo reatus
Ut possit vere per coeli culmina natus
Regnans gaudere tecum sine fine locatus.

There are also three matrices of shields in a line across the upper part of the stone and of small scrolls on each side of the figure. A third, but imperfect, scroll proceeds from the mouth, and the feet rest against a dog—an unusual adjunct to an ecclesiastical brass—which has a curious bristly tail. Dean Clere is said to have founded a chantry in the church, and there is still a window at the west end of the north aisle displaying his arms in stained glass: *Argent, on a fess azure three eagles' heads displayed or*, between the words Roberti Clere, with a kneeling figure in the attitude of prayer on each side.

The seventh priest, Britell Avenel, rector, 1408, at Buxted, is really the earliest in point of date, but has been reserved to the last on account of the special

interest of his brass. The memorial consists of a beautiful floriated cross with graceful stem and a base of four steps. Its head contains the priest at three-quarters length, engraved upon a diapered background within the quatrefoil. It is the only example of the kind in Sussex. Similar crosses with figures are, however, found at Merton College, Oxford, *circa* 1310; Chinnor, Oxon., *circa* 1320; Woodchurch, Kent, *circa* 1320; and Newton-by-Geddington, Northants., 1400.

A Latin cross, without figure, for Richard Tooner, rector, 1445, is to be seen upon the nave floor at Broadwater. Its arms are terminated by fleurs-de-lys, and it is inscribed with the words, "Sanguis xp̄i Salua me. Passio xp̄i Conforta me." This brass was found in taking up the pavement in 1826, and an inscription to another rector, John Corby, 1415, erroneously placed beneath it. At Buxted there is the matrix of another cross-brass with fleur-de-lys ends, a bust above the cross, and a border inscription of separate letters; the slab is much perished, and lies just within the altar rails, about half covered by a stone step. The same church has also a fragment, the lower half, of another small priest in eucharistic vestments, *circa* 1500, recently recovered, and loose, in the custody of the rector.

The clergy at Pulborough, Broadwater and Warbleton have already been mentioned as particularly fine examples of their class. All are large figures, robed in the "cappa serica," or cope of dignity, which is usually in brasses distinctive of the higher clergy, and all have canopies of much beauty. Thomas Harlyng, 1423, Rector of Ringwood and Pulborough and Canon of Chichester; John Mapylton, 1432, Rector of Broadwater and Chancellor to Joan of Navarre, second wife of King Henry IV.; and William Prestwyk, 1436, of Warbleton, wear the usual cassock, surplice, and almuce beneath their copes. Harlyng's brass has, unhappily, been moved from its place on the floor of the chancel and set against the

wall in the north aisle, where it has suffered much from verdigris, and has had all its engraved lines filled with wax. The same mistaken kindness has been conferred upon two other brasses, which are now in the south aisle, to the memory of Edmund Mille, gent., 1452, in civilian dress, and his wife Matilda, and also to their son and heir Richard Mille, 1478. Chancellor Mapylton has a Lombardic M for his initial, embroidered upon the rich orphreys of his cope, in alternation with a maple-leaf, his rebus, while the sacred letters I H S are cut upon the morse or brooch. William Prestwyk, who was Dean of St. Mary's College, in Hastings Castle, has the burial text from Job xix. 25, 26, inscribed all along his orphreys, with the credo of the commencement upon the morse. The symbol of the "pelican in her piety" is introduced into this brass, taking the place of the finial at the apex of the canopy. A fourth priest, Henry Clark, 1411, Vicar of Horsham, is mutilated as regards his head and feet, and is without a canopy. He wears his cope over an alb, amice, and stole. This is so rare a combination of vestments that, in brasses, only two other instances are known—at Upwell, Norfolk, and at Winchester College, the latter being but a half-effigy. It is especially interesting in that it enables the arrangement of the stole to be clearly seen. This was embroidered throughout its whole length, crossed over the breast, and held in position by the girdle of the alb. The orphreys of the cope are handsome, and bear the wearer's initials, H.C.

In strong contrast with the great coped priests comes the tiny figure of Wm. Wetherden, 1513, Vicar of Bodiam, who is represented in his shroud, and has nothing distinctive about him except his tonsure. This man only entered the priesthood after the death of a wife, who was possibly figured beside him. He is thus described in his inscription, the abbreviations being here expanded, "qui quidem non literatus uxorem duxit, qua mortua, se dedit studio literali et sacerdocii ordinem

suscepit." A simple chalice-brass to a priest, Thos. Frenshe, 1486, once existed at Nuthurst, but the chalice is now lost and the inscription alone remains.

Yet another clerical brass remains to be described, and that the finest of all, with a triple canopy the best in existence of purely English character. It commemorates Thomas Nelond, twenty-fifth Prior of Lewes, who died in 1433, and was fortunately buried in the remote village church of Cowfold. Otherwise his monument would have met the fate of most monastic brasses, and have disappeared when the great church at Lewes was granted to Thomas Cromwell and utterly destroyed. The priory was founded about 1078 by William, Earl of Warenne, and his wife Gundrada, and dedicated to St. Pancras. It was the first settlement in England of Cluniac monks, who followed a rule adapted from the Benedictine, and is not unknown in history. Its prior held the rank of High Chamberlain to the Abbot of Clugny. Nelond is represented in his cowl and hood, and makes an excellent example of the monastic dress. The central pediment of his canopy is itself triple, and supports a shrine containing the Blessed Virgin and Child, while figures of St. Pancras and St. Thomas of Canterbury supply the finials of the others. It seems to be by the same hand as the almost equally fine, though mutilated, canopy of Abbot John Stoke, at St. Albans, of which the date is 1451. The brass of Prior Nelond lies in the nave of Cowfold church.

It is necessary now to turn to the Lancastrian military brasses, which form a conspicuous group in the county. At the renewal of the French wars by Henry V., the style of armour was completely changed. The jupon and camail were completely abandoned, and every knight appeared in a suit of complete plate, sheathed in steel from head to feet. Again, Sussex can boast of possessing the very finest example of the type in the important brass of Thomas Baron Camoys and his wife

Elizabeth, 1419, which occupies the top of a large tomb in the centre of the chancel of Trotton church, which he partially rebuilt, as also the old bridge across the Little Rother, close by. Lord Camoys accompanied Henry V. in his first expedition to France, commanded the left wing of the English army at Agincourt, and for his bravery was created a Knight of the Garter. Fully armed, he is shown wearing the Lancastrian collar of SS clasped over his steel gorget, and the garter below the left knee. His left hand rests upon the hilt of his sword and his right holds that of his lady, who wears a kirtle, sideless cote-hardi and mantle, a smaller collar of SS round her neck, and her hair gathered into two large square nets, with a veil falling behind. Their son, Sir Richard Camoys, stands, a most diminutive figure, at his mother's feet. She herself was an historical personage, the daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and formerly the wife of Henry Percy. It is probable that she outlived her second husband by many years, and was buried elsewhere than in his tomb at Trotton. The inscription below the figures is of interest, and runs as follows:

Orate p aiabz Thome Camoys & Elizabeth' eius Consortis qui quond' erat dñs de | Camoys baro & puidus (providus) Consul Regis & regni Anglie ac Strenuus Miles de Gartero suū finē | cōmendauit xp̄o xxviiᵒ die Mens' Marcii Aº dñi M̊ cccc xix̊ quor aīabz ppiciet' de' amē.

There is a handsome and perfect double canopy and super-canopy with the arms of Camoys, *Or, on a chief (gules) three plates*, inserted on the dexter side of each finial and surrounded by the garter; on the sinister side, Camoys impaling Mortimer, one shield being lost. Several variations of the Camoys arms are found in the heraldic dictionaries, as argent instead of or for the field, or even vert, and bezants for plates, but these seem to be merely differences by which various members of the family marked their shields for distinction.

Brasses from the Tomb of Thomas, Baron Camoys, and his wife Elizabeth, in Trotton Church.

Next in importance is the brass of Sir John de Brewys, or Braose, 1426, at Wiston, of which the slab, between the border inscription and the armed figure, is powdered all over with little scrolls bearing alternately the words, "Jesus" and "mercy." There are thirty-one of these, and one is lost. Of six shields of arms two are lost and part of a third. This Sir John was the last of his line, and at his death the estate passed to the Shirleys, who became lords of the manor until the seventeenth century.

At Battle there are two men in Lancastrian armour, John Lowe, Esq., 1426, and Wm. Arnold, Esq., 1435, but the latter is only a demi-figure. His brass is under the platform of the organ, which is made movable to show it. Lowe is the more important, and was surveyor of all the manors of Battle Abbey. St. Michael's, Lewes, has a similar but smaller and headless man in armour, *circa* 1430, believed to be one of the Warennes. At Amberley, of the earlier date 1424, there is a curious figure, little more than two feet in height, of John Wantele, who is bareheaded, and has over his body-armour an early form of the heraldic tabard, embroidered or painted with his arms, which were: *Vert, three lions' masks argent langued gules.*

The fine brass of Sir Thomas Echyngham, 1444, and his parents, at Etchingham, exhibits some development in the armour, the skirt of taces being worn longer and with a greater number of steel hoops than before. Father and son, Sir William and Sir Thomas, are both alike and bareheaded, and are placed on either side of the lady Joan. She wears kirtle and mantle and a good horned head-dress and veil. A nearly perfect triple canopy surmounts the figures, and its four pinnacles, between and on either side of the pediments, were adorned with shields of arms, now lost, with the exception of the sinister side of one of them.

A very similar brass of knight and lady, and of about the same date, is found at West Grinstead, *circa*

1440, on a stone in the south chapel, raised about a foot above the pavement. This commemorates Sir Hugh Halsham and his first wife Jocosa, whose death occurred in 1421. A shield, Halsham and Strabolgie quarterly, impaling the latter, is placed at the intersection of the two pediments of the canopy, and a banner with the same two coats quarterly in the space above, between the finials, two other banners being lost. Sir Hugh's mother, Philippa, who died in 1395, the wife of John Halsham, Esq., is represented upon another good canopied brass, close by, engraved about the same time. In this church there are also some broken fragments of a large cover-stone from yet another high tomb showing the matrix of a fine brass, and there is also an inscription to Robert Havercroft and his wife, 1522, their figures having disappeared; also a small mural inscription, with skull and palm-branches, to Leonard and Hannah Woodward, twin infants, 1710. At Hellingly there is a lady of precisely the same type as the Halshams, *circa* 1440, found during a restoration in 1869.

The collegiate clergy of Arundel have already received attention. In the same place are three other tombs which now require notice. The first, an altar-tomb in the lady-chapel, commemorates John Fitzalan, 1421, and was adorned with four enamelled badges in brass or copper; only one remains—of a horse galloping under an oak. The other brasses are in the Fitzalan chapel, and commemorate distinguished servants of the house of Arundel. Thos. Salmon, Esq., 1430, was Usher of the Chamber to Henry V., and his wife Agnes a chief waiting-woman of the Princess Beatrice, Countess of Arundel and Surrey and daughter of John I., King of Portugal. Agnes Salmon was herself a Portuguese, but wears the Lancastrian SS. Of her husband's effigy nothing is left but the central portion. The brass is large, and has a fine but greatly mutilated double canopy of the same type as that of Lord Camoys. John

Threel, 1465, in armour, was Marshal of the Household to William Earl of Arundel. The Lancastrian rule had now passed away, and so, instead of the familiar SS, he wears the Yorkist collar of Suns and Roses, the only example in Sussex of its use. His wife's effigy has disappeared, but she also held office in the castle as handmaid to two countesses of Arundel, the ladies Beatrix and Joan.

Of other Yorkist brasses there are but few. West Firle has the armed figure of Bartholomew Bolne, Esq., 1476, formerly loose in the muniment room at Firle Place, but now restored to the church; and at this period begin the long series of Barttelot brasses at Stopham. These are of much interest, and fill the nave floor of Stopham church from the chancel step right down to the font, the chancel also containing one large brass and two inscriptions. They present a somewhat curious puzzle to the student of brasses, for in many instances they were not engraved at the time of their commemoration dates, and they have also been successively restored and supplied with missing portions, particularly in the seventeenth century, when there were two restorations, one at about the year 1630 and the other fifty years later. The founder of the family seems to have been John Barttelot, who was Treasurer of the Household to Thomas Earl of Arundel, and who married Joan, daughter of William de Stopham. He died in 1428. A second John Barttelot was "Consul Providus" to Thomas, John, and William, Earls of Arundel, and died in 1453. The brasses of both these men, now a good deal worn, the one in civilian dress and accompanied by his wife, the other in armour, were executed *circa* 1460, and evidently by a local artist, since they present a number of peculiarities. In the sixteenth century they had suffered from mutilation, and about the year 1630 new plates of children and shields of arms were added to both brasses, and the first part of the latter inscription. Apparently the

church had suffered again during the Civil Wars, for the heads of both men, and part of the sword of the one, appear to belong to the latter restoration, *circa* 1680. The third brass is dated 1478, to Richard Bertlot, Esq., "Marshall of the Hall of the Earl of Arundel," and his wife. Over his armour he wears a collar, probably the badge of his office. The children and two shields of arms were restored in the seventeenth century. In 1493 a brass was laid down to John, the son of Richard Barttelot; the original inscription remains, but the figure, representing him kneeling and in a cloak, is a restoration *circa* 1630. Then, after an interval of a hundred years, comes an inscription to John Barttelot, gentleman, who died in 1525, but whose brass was engraved at the same time as that of William Barttelot, Esq., and his wife, 1601, with two original shields; lost parts of these figures, the feet of the husband, the upper portion of the wife, were restored *circa* 1680. We now reach the time of the *circa* 1630 restorations. They were evidently made on the occasion of the laying of a large brass in the chancel to Richard Barttelot, Esq., who died in 1614, with his two wives, their children, and three shields. He is named as patron of the church, is dressed in armour, and the engraving is good for its date. There are no more figure-brasses except a plate of six daughters belonging to the inscription and shield of arms of Maria, wife of Walter Barttelot, 1626. Another inscription and a shield—Mille impaling Barttelot—commemorates their daughter Elizabeth, wife of Richard Mille, gentleman, 1644. William, the second son of Richard Barttelot, 1666, has a small inscription set in the slab of his parents. Anne, the wife of Walter Barttelot, "Gentleman," follows in 1690, and Walter Barttelot, "Esquire," in 1702. Henry Barttelot, Esq., 1710, has a square plate and a good achievement of arms, and the original series is closed with an inscription to Captain Charles Barttelot in 1738. Of the modern revival it is unnecessary to

Tomb of Richard Covert and his Three Wives, in Slaugham Church.

speak, except to mention inscriptions recently laid down to Wm. Barttelot, Esq., who died in 1640, and to Henry Barttelot, Esq., 1648. Above this last is an original shield, and below, a plate bearing four effigies, three male and one female, *circa* 1620, and below this again, another original shield. And thus the Barttelot brasses cover a period of more than four hundred years.

Several other important family groups are representative mainly of the Tudor period. Thus there is a fine Perpendicular altar-tomb in the chancel at Ardingly, with brasses to Richard Wakeherst, Esq., in civilian dress, and his wife Elizabeth, under canopies, engraved *circa* 1500, the date of their deaths being 1457 and 1464. The tomb was probably erected by Richard Culpepyr, Esq., a son of the Culpepyrs of Goudhurst (where there are some good brasses), who married Richard Wakeherst's daughter Mary, and so originated the line of the Culpepyrs of Wakeherst. This Richard Culpepyr and his wife themselves have a canopied brass in the chancel; the upper part of the lady is lost, but the armed figure of the husband remains perfect. Nicholas Culpepyr, Esq., 1510, also married a daughter of Richard Wakeherst, and their brass too lies in the chancel, with no fewer than ten sons and eight daughters. Wakehurst Place was rebuilt by Sir Edward Culpepyr in 1590, and is now considered the best example in Sussex of an Elizabethan mansion. There are two later brasses in the church to Elizabeth, wife of Sir Edw. Culpepyr, 1633, and to yet another Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Wm. Culpepyr, 1634, a child of seven years old, at the foot of the same slab.

The Coverts of Slaugham were a powerful family in the Tudor and Elizabethan periods, and have three brasses in their parish church. First comes John Covert, Esq., 1503, with a canopy, fixed against the east wall, then a notable stone-canopied monument with brass effigies of Richard Covert, Esq., 1547, and his three

wives, mural, in the recess of the tomb; the third wife is a rather later insertion. A feature of special interest is a small plate representing the Resurrection, in which our Saviour is seen clothed in a mantle and standing erect in His tomb, surrounded by the soldiers of the Temple Guard. This should be compared with a carving of the same subject, of probably the same date, on one of the Earnley tombs at West Wittering. The last Covert brass is also upon the back of a canopied tomb, to Jane, daughter of John Covert, and wife, first, to Sir Francis Fleming, and afterwards to Sir John Fetyplace. Slaugham Place is now a ruin, surrounded by a wall and moat enclosing some three acres of ground.

At Clapham the Shelleys succeeded the Michelgroves by the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of John Michelgrove, Esq., with John Shelley, Esq., who thus became Shelley of Michelgrove, just as Rich. Culpepyr became a Culpepyr of Wakeherst. There are two mural inscriptions in the chancel, both dated 1458, to John Mikelgrove, Esq., senior and junior. John and Elizabeth Shelley, 1526, have a specially interesting figure-brass, in which the husband, over his typically Tudor suit of armour, wears a heraldic tabard charged with his arms (*Sable*), *a fess engrailed between three shells or*, repeated again upon the sleeves. It is a good example of allusive heraldry, the shells standing for Shelley; they are variously described as whelk-shells or horse-snails, and the fess is usually given as argent, though here the surface of the brass is left smooth, as for the more precious metal. The wife is also in a quite typical Tudor dress and pedimental or kennel-shaped headdress, with an heraldic mantle charged with the arms of Shelley on the dexter side and Michelgrove on the sinister. Four shields above and below the figures again repeat the arms, Shelley, Michelgrove, Shelley impaling Michelgrove, and Michelgrove impaling Sidney. Above is a small and

much defaced representation of the Holy Trinity, with two short scrolls. The other brasses are mural, and all in the chancel. That to John Shelley, Esq., 1550, and his wife, four sons, and eight daughters, has also much heraldry, shown upon two large shields, a large lozenge and a row of five small shields. The last brass at Clapham is a quadrangular plate to John Shellie, 1592, in armour, and his wife Elinor, with a son and daughter, the inscription being cut in marble. An earlier inscription of 1498 commemorates Gresild, the wife of John Caryll.

There is yet another Shelley brass at Warminghurst, 1554, to Edward Shelley, Esq., and his family, the husband having been one of the four Masters of the Household to Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Queen Mary. Michelgrove House was pulled down by Bernard-Edward, Duke of Norfolk, who purchased the estate in 1828.

Isfield Place, the old mansion of the Shurleys, enclosed by a stone wall, with a tower at each angle, stands close to Isfield church, where, in the Shurley chapel, are three good family tombs adorned with brasses set in recesses at the back. The first is built into the north wall under the central window, and commemorates John Shurley, Esq., 1527. But only the inscription remains, together with the empty matrices of his kneeling figure, a shield, a scroll, and a representation of the Blessed Virgin. There were also three shields in front of the tomb. This John Shurley was Chief Clerk of the Kitchen to Henry VII. and Cofferer to Henry VIII. Edward Shurley, Esq., was also Cofferer to the same monarch, and his brass, dated 1558, is in better order. It includes himself (in armour), his wife, one son remaining out of three, and a daughter; four shields are lost. The third recessed tomb is to Thos. Shurley, Esq., 1579, son of Edw. Shurley. He too is in armour, and is accompanied by his wife, and here again three shields

have been lost, so that all the Shurley brasses have suffered grievously as regards their heraldry.

Burton, near Petworth, has a little church in the middle of Burton Park, which contains several monuments to the Goring (or Gorynge) family. Two of these have brasses, mural, in the recesses at the back of their respective tombs, which are placed one on either side of the nave. Of these, the first, *circa* 1525, has lost everything except the figure of a man in armour, but has matrices of inscription, scroll, and four shields; it is believed to commemorate John Goring. The second brass is, in one particular, quite unique, and is of great heraldic interest. A kneeling figure of Sir Wm. Goringe, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI., is lost, but his wife remains, kneeling at a faldstool and wearing over her dress a man's tabard, elaborately charged with arms in the usual way. No other instance is known. The lady, by name Elizabeth, was a daughter of John Covert, of Slaugham. Children, now all lost, were placed in different parts of the slab, four in a group and four singly; but four large shields of arms may still be seen in various positions, and seven inscription plates.

It is difficult not to linger over others of these interesting family brasses, and a few words must now suffice for the last of the more important groups, that of the Gages of West Firle. Firle Place and Park are still in the possession of the family, and Viscount Gage claims to trace his descent from the time of the Norman Conquest. The brasses, however, excepting that of Bartholomew and Alianora Bolne, 1476, mentioned earlier, go no further back than 1557, and seem to have been nearly all executed at the same time, *circa* 1600, probably after the decease of John Gage, Esq., in 1595. A high tomb, with its foot towards the east wall of the Gage chapel, carries the life-size alabaster effigies of Sir John Gage, K.G., Constable of the Tower, and his wife. This has a brass inscription and a coat of arms within

the garter upon a panel in the wall, and matrices of another inscription and two shields at the west end of the tomb. There are also brasses to Sir Edward Gage, in armour, who died in 1569, and his wife; to Thomas Gage, Esq., and his wife, 1590; and to John Gage, Esq., and his two wives, 1595. A few years ago several of the brasses were loose in the muniment room at Firle Place, but have been refixed in the church. Besides the Gages, there is a figure-brass to Mary, wife of Sir Wm. Howard, 1638, in a shroud, and an inscription, 1676, to Alice, wife of Thos. Levett, vicar. Another Gage brass is to be found at Framfield—a mural, quadrangular plate to Edw. Gage, Esq., and his family, 1595.

Unfortunately, it is impossible within the necessary limits of this paper to describe the whole of the brasses of Sussex, and those which remain can only be briefly enumerated.

At Angmering is an inscription to Eden (or Ellen), wife of John Baker, 1598, her effigy being now lost. At Battle, besides the priest and the two men in armour already described, an inscription to Elizth. Haye, 1597; Thos. Alfraye and Elizth., his wife, 1600, the figure of the husband lost, but the wife remaining, and fourteen English verses; John Wythines, D.D., 1615, an important brass of much interest, for Dr. Wythines was a Fellow of Brazenose and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, as well as Dean of Battle. Other post-Reformation clergymen are a figure and inscription at Storrington, 1591, for Henry Wilsha, S.T.B., Chaplain to Henry Earl of Arundel; an inscription to James Smyth, 1565, Chaplain of the Savoy, at Stoughton; an inscription at Selmeston to Henry Rogers, 1639, "painefull preacher in this church"; another at Ringmer to John Sadler, 1640, "ecclesiæ hujus pastor fidelis"; and a shield and inscription at Tillington, 1697, to Wm. Cox, S.T.P., Precentor of Chichester.

Billingshurst has Thos. Bartlett and his wife, 1499.

Bodiam a further inscription, *circa* 1520, to Thos. Grove and wife. Brede a fifteenth century inscription to Margaret and Katherine Oxenbregge, and the scanty remains of the armed figure of Robt. Oxenbregg, Esq., 1493, and his wife. Brightling has an unknown civilian and his wife, *circa* 1480, and Thos. Pye, 1592, the last a small, kneeling child, with six English verses. Broadwater a further inscription to Anne, wife of Sir Edw. Alford, 1692.

At Buxted there were several additional brasses, loose fifty years ago, and afterwards lost, of which fragments have recently been recovered. These consist of part of the legs of a man in armour, *circa* 1440, two shields of arms of different dates, and most of the inscription of the brass of Thos. Smith, Esq., and his wife, 1558, besides the lower part of a priest in eucharistic vestments, already mentioned. There is also an interesting inscription in English verse, *circa* 1450, to Christine Savage and her son Robert, who was parson of Buxted "moore than xxiv yeere." At Clayton there is a further inscription to Thomas a Wode, 1508. At Cowfold the figure of John a Gate, *circa* 1500, his wife being lost. At Crawley an inscription to Wm. Blast, 1438, and the figure of a lady, *circa* 1520. At Cuckfield a man in armour, *circa* 1590; a mural quadrangular plate to Henry Bowyer, Esq., 1614, also in armour, and his family; and a shield and inscription to Gerard Borell, 1509, S.T.P., Archdeacon of Chichester and vicar. Eastbourne parish church has an inscription to John Hyng, S.T.B., 1445, Treasurer of Chichester. Etchingham also the figures of Elizth. Echyngham and Agnes Oxenbrigg, 1480, with a palimpsest inscription; an inscription to Sir Thos. Echyngham, 1485, once attached to an effigy and ornamenting a destroyed high tomb; and an inscription to the infant son of Sir Gyfford Thornhurst, Bart., 1626. Ewhurst has the small, kneeling figure of Wm. Crysford, *circa* 1520. Fletching also a

quite unique memorial to Peter Denot, glover, *circa* 1440, in the simple form of a pair of gloves, together with an inscription. Friston the small figures of Thos. Selwyn and wife, 1542. Goring a man in armour and his wife, *circa* 1490, formerly on a high tomb, and three inscriptions, dated 1644, 1693, and 1707; the last, to Susan Cook, with a coat of arms. East Grinstead church was rebuilt after the tower had fallen down for a second time in 1785, and the brasses have suffered very badly. The figures of Sir Thos. Grey, Richard Lewkener, Esq., and their wife Catherine, who had been a lady-in-waiting to the two queens Elizabeth, wives of Edward IV. and Henry VII., dated 1505, once occupied a high tomb in the north aisle. This was destroyed, and Dame Catherine lost. The husbands have been set in a new slab against the east wall of the opposite aisle, with an unknown civilian, *circa* 1520, in the wife's place between them, and the inscription inserted in a separate stone. This is the more deplorable, inasmuch as the lady and her second husband were the founders of the church and of an almshouse of three parsons. There are also inscriptions at East Grinstead of 1617 and 1660.

Hastings has three interesting citizen brasses—at All Saints' Church, Thos. Goodenouth, burgess, and his wife, *circa* 1520; and in St. Clement's, Thos. Wekes, jurat, 1563; and John Barley, mercer, 1601; also an inscription, 1606, to Thos. Pierce, Esq. At Henfield there is a high tomb behind the organ with the small figure of Thos. Bysshopp, Esq., 1559; Mrs. Ann Kenwellmersh, 1633, and her seven-years' grandchild; and another inscription, 1672, set in the same slab. Horsham, besides its coped priest, has a small lady, *circa* 1515, whose brass was recently loose in the vestry. Houghton an inscription, 1496, to Thos. Cheyne, gentleman, and his wife. Kingston-juxta-Lewes an inscription dated 1667. Kirkford another of 1658 to Richard Penfold. St. Anne's, Lewes, a coat of arms and inscription.

1613, to Thos. Twyne, "Artium & Medicinæ Doctoris." Lindfield, inscriptions to Stephen Boarde and wife, 1567, with a skull, the effigies being lost; to Joane Newton, 1655; and to Isaac Allen, 1656. Allen died in prison, and is curiously described. North Mundham has inscriptions to Thos. Nowell, 1583, with two shields of arms; Thos. Bowyer, 1594, with three shields; Richard Bowyer, 1610, with one shield; John Byrch, Esq., and wife, 1616, their figures being lost; Robt. Birche, 1627, with arms, and again matrices of lost figures; and John Bigs, 1634. The first three families were connected by marriage. Northiam has also the civilian figure of Nicholas Tufton, Esq., 1538. Patcham two inscriptions, dated 1637 and 1645, to ladies of identical name—Ann Stapley. Petworth thirteen inscriptions to the Percys, Earls of Northumberland, and others. Portslade an inscription recording the burials, in East Preston or West Blatchington churches, of three members of the Scrase family, 1499, 1519, and 1579. Pulborough, besides the coped priest and the Mille brasses, an inscription to John Apsley and wife, with arms, 1713. Rodmell a palimpsest inscription, first used for John Broke and his wife, 1434, and afterwards engraved on the other side to John de la Chambre, Esq., 1673. Ringmer an inscription, with four English verses and three shields of arms, to Richard Mascall, Esq., 1631; and plain inscriptions to John Sadler, pastor, 1640, and to Thos. Howell, 1738. Rusper has also the figures of Thos. Challoner, his wife, and son, 1532, and an inscription to Mary Gardiner, 1644. Rye three shields, *circa* 1600, and a good brass to Thomas Hamon, 1607, thrice burgess and six times mayor. New Shoreham a civilian and wife, *circa* 1450, and an inscription and arms to Walter West, Esq., 1648. Old Shoreham an inscription and arms to Captain Richard Poole and his son, 1652. Slinfold, Rich. Bradbyge and wife, 1533; a mutilated lady, *circa* 1600; and an inscription to

Edw. Cooper, Esq., 1678. Stanmer an inscription to Deborah Goffe, 1626. Thakeham, Beatrix and Thomas, mother and son of Wm. Apsley, Esq., 1515 and 1517. Tillington another inscription to Wm. Spencer, gentleman, steward of the household to Anthony Viscount Montague, his mother, and his wife, 1593. Uckfield has John Fuller, gentleman, 1610, with a square panel above the effigy containing a coat of arms. Warbleton also an inscription to John and Joan Prestwyk, parents of the coped priest. Westham-by-Pevensey an inscription to Elizabeth, wife of Henry Stonestreet, citizen and mercer of London, 1644. Willingdon has John Parker, Esq., in armour, and his wife, 1558; and inscriptions to Thos. Parker, Esq., and wife, 1580, and to Robt. Parker, 1618; the last is palimpsest, and has, on the reverse side, part of another inscription of the same date, but without any name. Winchelsea a mutilated civilian, *circa* 1440, and an inscription of 1636. Whatlington an inscription to Alice, wife of Rich. Dunck, of Vine Hall, gentleman, 1627.

Perhaps it will have been noticed that the cathedral has hitherto passed without mention. There was once a time when its choir was almost entirely paved with monumental slabs, containing a magnificent series of brasses of the bishops and dignitaries of Chichester. It was long supposed that these brasses were torn up and destroyed when the cathedral was sacked by Waller's troops after the siege of 1642. Their destruction, however, took place earlier, and must probably be referred to the reign of Edward VI., a far more fatal period to church treasures of every kind. Most of the empty slabs still fortunately remain, and have been removed to the floor of the nave, where they are preserved, but also concealed, by the matting and seats which occupy this part of the great church. Excellent drawings of them may be seen in the cathedral library, and include the outlines of seven bishops in full pontificals, about a dozen dignitaries in copes, three

crosses fleury, and a few civilians with their wives. The episcopal brasses must have been very fine, and several of them were adorned with beautiful triple canopies, angels, and saints. One slab is exposed, its matrices filled with brown cement, on a high tomb in the second bay on the south side, in memory of Bishop John Arundel, 1459-1477, but it is neither so large nor so fine as most of the others. Besides these flat slabs there are several Tudor recessed tombs—two in the south transept, two in the north choir aisle, and one of inferior type in the south aisle of the nave—which have had mural brasses inserted. In all there was a central device, a Holy Trinity or a Blessed Virgin, with kneeling figures and scrolls on either side, and shields of arms and inscriptions.

Of actual brasses still remaining, there is a shield of arms—*a cross between four half-roses, from which issue rays of light; all counterchanged; on the cross a daisy flower*—on the side of the tomb of Bishop George Day, 1556, in the retro-choir, with a modern thinly-engraved copy of the inscription and arms, with mitre and crozier, on the top. There is also in the south aisle of the nave, near the entrance to the cloisters, a small mural rectangular brass, dated 1592, portraying the figures of Wm. Bradbridge and his wife, kneeling at a table in a pillared room or chancel, with six sons, eight daughters, and arms—(*or*) *a pheon* (*sable*). Also an inscription, with eight Latin verses, to Henry Ball, S.T.D., Precentor and Archdeacon of Chichester, 1603, set in a stone frame on the wall of the north choir aisle; and another inscription to Henry Blaxton, S.T.D., 1606, chancellor of the cathedral, part of an elaborate marble monument in the nave near the font.

Lastly—and this may well serve to close a chapter on the brasses of Sussex—there is a curious and interesting little heart brass of the beginning of the sixteenth century, found in 1829 in pulling down an arch behind the clock in the triforium, and now mounted

on wood and exhibited in a glass case in the library. It measures only about five inches by four inches, and shows a small heart, enamelled red, and inscribed *ihc̄*, held by hands issuing from clouds. The hands appear to be those of an ecclesiastic, for the wrists are encircled with tight sleeves like those of a cassock, showing the wider apparels of an alb, with a ball pattern going all the way round. Probably the brass commemorated the separate interment of a heart, of which the body was buried elsewhere, after a custom common enough in cases where death occurred far from home.

HISTORIC HOUSES

By Philip Sidney

LOVERS of Sussex have every reason to be proud of the many ancient houses still standing within its boundaries. There are, indeed, few English counties which can claim to possess a more interesting series of great and small manor-houses. Moreover, if we take into consideration the picturesque parks which often surround them, it would be hard, go where you will throughout the country, to find fairer examples of wooded country seats.

The following notes refer mainly to such buildings as are now habitable. The majority of these have been erected since the Middle Ages, and were never intended to serve as fortresses, but rather as country houses, when the times had become more peaceful and prosperous, and when the final issue of the struggle between the White Rose and the Red had obliterated the last vestiges of feudalism. Decayed or ruinous castles—treated elsewhere—are here omitted, as are dismantled houses such as Crowhurst, Slaugham, Halnaker, Ewhurst, Brambletye, Cowdray, Chiddingly, and Buckhurst. More modern erections such as Eridge, Normanhurst, Knepp, and Warnham are also excluded. Notwithstanding this rigid line of demarcation, there still remains a goodly list of mansions.[1]

[1] Not many of the oldest Sussex houses remain to-day in the hands of the direct male descendants of their original owners. We look in vain among the territorial families for the ancient names of Covert, Lunsford, Poynings, Selwyn, Shurley, Offley, Aspley, de Braose, Caryll, Ore, Culpeper, Thatcher, Stopham, Cheney, Iden, and Echyngham, but we still recognise names so familiar in the records of the county as Gage, Goring, Ashburnham, Barttelot, Burrell, Sergison, Eversfield, Turnour, Borrer, Frewen, Pelham, Stapley, Dawtrey, Boord, and Bellingham.

It is noticeable how many old Sussex houses owe much of their beauty of situation to the proximity of the Southdowns, at the foot of which they lie, though it is a curious circumstance that the original builders frequently selected for the site of their homes the north side of the Downs, in preference to the warmer and more sheltered southern slopes. These hills, often surmounted by British and Roman camps and barrows, form an imposing background. Wolstanbury Hill, Chanctonbury Ring, Mount Caburn—shapeliest of all the Southdowns —Firle Beacon, Cissbury Ring, and Ditchling Beacon all overshadow Elizabethan or Jacobean edifices resting at their bases.

Petworth, which has been described as "an ugly casket, in which objects of priceless worth are enshrined," famous for its great park and its collection of art treasures, is the most important of the great houses of the county. It was at one time the property of the Percys. When the Percys became extinct in the male line in 1670, the estate eventually fell to the Wyndham family, the present owners.

Architecturally Petworth has few attractions: the house, which has a long front of heavy and monotonous design, was built in the early part of the eighteenth and altered and enlarged early in the nineteenth century: the Early English chapel and the cellars are the only remaining portions of the old house. "We wish our readers to go to Petworth . . . where they will find the coolest grottoes and the finest Vandykes in the world," wrote Hazlitt, in his *Sketches of the Picture Galleries of England*, and it is for its pictures, collected chiefly by the third Earl of Egremont, the friend of art and agriculture, and the patron of Turner, that Petworth is memorable; its masterpieces by Claude, and Holbein, and Vandyck, the excellent carving by Grinling Gibbons and Jonathan Ritson.

The park at Petworth is immense and imposing, but

has a somewhat unreal look. "A scene-painter, bidden to depict an English park, would produce (though he had never been out of the Strand) something very like Petworth. It is the normal park of the average imagination on a large scale."[1] Of this park William Cobbett's account is worth quotation:

> The park is very fine, and consists of a parcel of hills and dells which Nature formed when she was in one of her most sportive moods. I have never seen the earth flung about in such a wild way as round about Hindhead and Blackdown, and this park forms part of this ground. From an elevated part of it, and, indeed, from each of many parts of it, you see all round the country to the distance of many miles. From the south-east to the north-west the hills are so lofty and so near that they cut the view rather short; but for the rest of the circle you can see to a very great distance. It is, upon the whole, a most magnificent seat, and the Jews will not be able to get it from the *present* owner, though if he live many years they will give even him a *twist*.

This description of the park, however, applies rather to the northern than to the southern portion.

Far more interesting architecturally than Petworth is Parham, a spreading Tudor mansion, set against its background of the Southdowns. Built by Sir Thomas Palmer in 1597, it passed to the Bishopp family, and is now the property of Lord Zouche. Sir Thomas Bishopp, who purchased the whole estate from the Palmers, enlarged and decorated it, and constructed the south part, the whole forming a letter E. Here Queen Elizabeth dined in the great hall in 1592. A hiding-hole for priests and other refugees is to be found beneath the flooring of a window bay in the Long Gallery, and at the east end of the gallery is a little chapel.[2] Among the pictures are full-lengths of Sir Philip Sidney, Lady Sidney, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and of Penelope D'Arcy—one of Hardy's *Group of Noble Dames*, who promised to

[1] *Highways and Byways in Sussex*. E. V. Lucas.

[2] Other similar hiding-places are to be found at Slindon, Albourne, Street, Paxhill, Southwater, Cuckfield, and Cowdray.

WISTON HOUSE.

marry three suitors in turn and did so—Sir George Trenchard, Sir John Gage, of Firle in Sussex, and Sir William Hervey. Parham is noted for possessing a copy of Montaigne, with Shakespeare's autograph in it; a fine collection of armour, incunabula, and Eastern MSS., and a heronry in the park.

Goodwood House itself, designed by Sir Thomas Chambers and considerably enlarged by Wyatt, dating mainly from the later portion of the eighteenth century, has an ugly and uninteresting exterior, which represents the four sides of a hexagon, with towers at the angles. The house contains some fine Vandycks and Lelys, and a curious and interesting cenotaph of Lord Darnley, by an unknown artist, painted as early as 1567-68, containing small designs representing various scenes of Darnley's murder. The park has some of the finest trees in Sussex within its walls, including the survivors of some thousand cedars of Lebanon that were planted here a hundred and fifty years ago.

Wiston House, a grey Tudor building, the seat of the Gorings, which has many points of resemblance to Parham, lies in the midst of its wide park under the shadow of Chanctonbury Ring. The house dates from the Mid-Elizabethan period—the date 1576 appears above the door of the dining-room—but has been much damaged by injudicious restoration. The hall, forty feet square, has a fine wooden ceiling of the time of Charles I. It was once the seat of the Shurleys, a family notable for its "leash of noble brethren," as Fuller calls them—Anthony, Thomas, and Robert, sons of the Sir Thomas Shurley (1542-1613) who built Wiston House.

Like Wiston, the majority of the largest Sussex houses we have yet to consider are of Elizabethan architecture; it is, indeed, noteworthy what a number of seats were built in the county towards the close of the sixteenth century, and often in the shape of the letter E. Brede Place, a brick, stone, and half-timber house of early

sixteenth century date, retains its chapel and many original fittings, and has portions of an earlier date. The house is sunk in a hollow, and is sufficiently secluded and gloomy in appearance to lend colour to its reputation of being haunted—a rumour originally spread by the Sussex smugglers, who for some years made the house their headquarters. Perhaps it was the same authorities that insisted upon the old story that one of the original owners of the house (the Oxenbridges) was an ogre; and "nothing could compass his death but a wooden saw, with which, after a drunken bout, the villagers severed him in Stubb's Lane, by Groaning Bridge."

Each of the remaining great houses in Sussex is distinguished by some remarkable feature upon which its fame rests. Thus Cuckfield Place, dating from the end of the sixteenth century, with its oak-panelled rooms, sombre staircase, and rook-haunted avenue, was admired by Shelley because it "abounds in bits of Mrs. Radcliffe," and is described in Harrison Ainsworth's *Rookwood*.[1]

Denne Park, near Horsham, once a manor of the de Braoses, now the home of the family of Eversfield, is noted for its long avenue of ancient lime-trees, planted early in the seventeenth century, perhaps as old as the house itself, which was built in 1621. Within Field Place Percy Bysshe Shelley was born in 1792; and Sheffield Park is associated with the name of Edward Gibbon, the historian, who spent much time here, with his friend John Baker Holroyd, the first Earl of Sheffield, and who lies buried at Fletching near by. Slindon House is nobly Elizabethan, its beeches "among the aristocracy of trees." The façade of Danny,[2] a red-brick Elizabethan house

[1] Brambletye also has appeared in fiction, in Horace Smith's *Brambletye House*. Once the seat of the Sussex family of Lewknor, it is in ruins. Horace Smith's novel, for which Horsfield, in his *History of Sussex*, prophesied the longevity of the Waverley Novels, is now almost forgotten.

[2] 1595.

lying in its park at the foot of Wolstanbury Hill, is singularly fine; while at Albourne Place, not far from Danny, lived for a time during the Commonwealth Dr. Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, who once escaped the Parliamentary soldiers during the Civil War by disguising himself as a bricklayer. There is a priests' hiding-hole in the house. Ashburnham Place, near Battle, has also associations with the Civil Wars, and is famous for its relics of Charles I.—the silk drawers and shirt worn by the King on the scaffold, his watch, and the sheet thrown over his dead body, which were acquired by John Ashburnham, groom of the bed-chamber.

Firle and Glynde Places, both Elizabethan houses of plain exterior, owe much of their charm to their situation at the foot of the Downs. Firle bears the same relation to Firle Beacon that Wiston Park does to Chanctonbury Ring; while Glynde lies beneath the shadow of Mount Caburn. In the former house is a portrait of Sir John Gage, the trusted adviser of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, and, as Constable of the Tower, the gaoler of Lady Jane Grey and of the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth. Sir Edward Gage, as High Sheriff of Sussex, was one of the judges of the Sussex martyrs, but, as even Fox admits, exercised courtesy to them. His son, Sir John Gage, was the second husband of Lady Penelope D'Arcy, the "Noble Dame" whose portrait hangs at Parham. Like Firle and Glynde Places, Newtimber Place, an Elizabethan moated house, is sheltered by a hill, and hidden away among the trees. Brickwall House, Northiam, is a fine old country mansion, largely half-timber, partly Elizabethan and partly Jacobean, the seat of the Frewens, the great family of Northiam. "Accepted" Frewen, Archbishop of York, was born here; and the house contains a pair of high-heeled shoes of green damask silk, which Queen Elizabeth left at Northiam when she partook of a banquet under an oak on the green on August 11th, 1573, on a progress in West Sussex. Carter's

Corner, near Hellingly, is Jacobean. Paxhill, at Lindfield, which was built about the year 1606, has been considerably altered and enlarged during the nineteenth century; and at Ardingly, north of Lindfield, is Wakehurst Place, built in 1590, which has been claimed by some to be the best example of an Elizabethan house in the south-east of England. It suffers, however, from some injudicious alterations in its original plan, such as the shortening of its wings. The Place, however, which was formerly the property of the Culpepers, has a very fine interior and oak staircase. Lordington, an early seventeenth century house, with the remains of a gateway, is now fast decaying, but contains, or contained, some fine panelled rooms.

That this all too brief list includes *all* the old houses of interest within the county is not for a moment contended. It merely notices the majority of those larger houses that come within the limits we have laid down, and those only. There are smaller old houses, however, in plenty, situated chiefly in or near towns or villages, that are well worth inspection, such as those in or near Mayfield, Chiddingly, Lewes, Northiam, Petworth, Alfriston, Southwater, East Grinstead, West Dean (near Seaford), Chichester, Ditchling, Robertsbridge, Steyning, Hellingly, Haughton, Lindfield, Rye, Winchelsea, Sedlescombe, Friston, Burwash, Waldron, and West Hoathly. Near most of these places are to be found ancient farmhouses, presenting many features of interest, that have fallen and decayed from their old position as the manor-houses of their respective districts.

At Mayfield the Middle House, *circa* 1575, and the Palace are of special interest. In the older of these two, Mayfield Palace, the old abode of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Gresham lived, and Queen Elizabeth once dined under its roof. In the great dining-room are to be seen the tongs which St. Dunstan made use of on a historic occasion. Middle House.

East Mascalls (before restoration).

with its richly-ornamented gabled front, is that to which Richard Jefferies refers somewhat scornfully in his essay on Buckhurst Park.

> Now at Mayfield there is a timber house which is something of a show place, and people go to see it, and which certainly has many more[1] lines in its curves and woodwork, but yet did not appeal to me, because it seemed too purposely ornamental. A house designed to look well, even age has not taken from its artificiality.

On the other hand, in Louis Jennings' *Field Paths and Green Lanes* the same house receives its meed of praise.

At Lewes there are many old houses, of which Southover Grange is the most striking, and at Swanborough, a grange of Lewes Priory, are remains of twelfth century work and later details of considerable interest. At Alfriston the fourteenth century pre-Reformation Parsonage House[2] and the Star Inn are both very perfect specimens of their kind. The Star is one of the oldest inns of the county, dating from the fifteenth century, and was once a sanctuary under the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Battle for persons flying from justice, and a place of resort for pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester Cathedral. Harrison Ainsworth is wrong in sending Charles II. thither in his *Ovingdean Grange*. East Grinstead is interesting chiefly for Sackville College, an ivy-clad Jacobean building, with large mullioned windows and some fine doorways, which gives shelter to five brethren and six sisters, and to a warden and two assistants. It stands in unimpaired preservation and forms a quiet quadrangle, which is known to many in its slightly modified form in Fred. Walker's *The Harbour of Refuge*. Southwater, near Horsham, has its Jacobean New Building, with an admirable stairway and cleverly-concealed priest's hole.

1 More than "the simple old home by Buckhurst Park," he has described previously.

2 Other examples exist at West Dean, Eastbourne, and Coombes.

Within the city of Chichester old buildings are numerous, and among the most noteworthy are Kingsham House, the property in the fifteenth century of the Sidneys, and St. Mary's Hospital, at the end of Lion Street. At Ditchling there are sixteenth century timber-built houses deserving examination; and one close by the church, of which the earliest portions are Tudor, is a singular mixture of stone, brick, and timber, with an outside staircase. Hangleton, a desolate hamlet perched on the Downs near Hove, has the fine Tudor mansion of the Bellinghams (1594), now used as a farmhouse, which, though much altered, retains many original features, including the mullioned windows and some "indications of thirteenth century date." On an arched oak screen in the kitchen (once the chapel) are carved the Commandments, followed by the ingenious exercise upon the single vowel E:

Persevere, ye perfect Men,
Ever keep these Precepts ten.

At Hellingly there is a notable timber-built house known as Horselunges. In the parish of Westham is Priesthaus, probably a monastic grange originally; later, the home of the Thatcher family, at one time resident in the parish of Ringmer. At Rye (that "bit of the old world living on in happy ignorance of the new") and at Winchelsea (that "town in a trance, a sunny dream of centuries ago") old houses are a common feature, to which the two towns owe much of their penetrating and singular charm. At Waldron we find Elizabethan farmhouses in Tanners and Old Possingworth, while in or near Lindfield timber-built houses abound, such as Old Place,[1] East Mascalls, and Broadhurst. Of these, East Mascalls, not long ago a timbered ruin lying low among the fields, has been recently restored, whilst at Broadhurst there is a curious contrivance on the first floor which

[1] A remarkable example of restoration and new construction with old material.

acts as a kind of drawbridge and serves to cut off the upper portion of the house from the lower. Near Burwash we get Batemans and Holmhurst, both possessing oak-panelled rooms. The exterior of the former is singularly pleasing and well preserved, while the latter has a gallery nearly seventy feet long. In the neighbourhood of and in West Hoathly itself are several old houses, among which are Gravetye, a Tudor mansion in a deep hollow, with its rose gardens; and a timbered house on lower ground known as The Moat. At Steyning the Vicarage House and Brotherhood Hall, an ancient building long used as a grammar school, are notable features in this ancient village, where "the spirit of antiquity is vividly present in its streets." Petworth, too, is rich in Tudor and Jacobean architecture, and near it is Moore, once the home of the Dawtreys. At Nyetimber is a notable example of an early manor-house, now known as Barton or Manor Farm, which, it is claimed, is possibly of pre-Conquest date.

The majority of these old Sussex houses are now in such careful hands that we have good reason to believe that pains will be taken, as time goes on, to preserve them from mutilation or decay, or the more barbarous processes of injudicious restoration.

WINCHELSEA AND ITS CHURCH

By the Rev. Theodore Johnson

THE natural features of Sussex proclaim it to be a land of repose, a place of quiet labour and contentment, with much of its charm lying in the historic records of a past age. And nowhere are these characteristics more evident than at Winchelsea.

As we pass through its ruined gateway we are immediately carried back through the stirring events of more than eight centuries to the old port at which William the Norman landed in December, 1066. A panorama of varied scenes passes before our eyes as we follow the history of Old Winchelsea through the many fierce storms by which it was visited, until it was finally swept away in the thirteenth century to make room for the New Winchelsea which arose under the munificence of Edward I., heralded by the building of noble churches, religious houses, stately squares, and strong siege gates.

Old Winchelsea stood some six miles from the present village, and prior to its destruction ranked as the chief port of the coast, even in those early times. The rise of the new town was abruptly stayed by the cruel appearance of the Black Death, which decimated its inhabitants and dispersed the skilled workers. Later the repeated attacks of the French fleet, the burning of the town on several occasions, and the retirement of the sea, with the consequent commercial decline, all led up to the long uneventful years of ruin and decay which have left the old Cinque Port a land-locked, deserted place.

With regard to the derivation of the name Winchelsea there exists some difficulty. Certain authorities derive it from *Wincel* or *Winchel*, a nook or secluded place. This would point to the existence of an earlier village, placed apart from the hill, and not upon it, hidden from view rather than exposed, and probably situated in some sheltered position. Others trace the derivation from *Wincheling*, son of Cissa, the first King of the South Saxons. However this may be, we must remember that the old English word *win* meant a victory; as a suffix it was often added to personal names, *e.g.*, Eadwin, Happy Victory, or Godwin, God's Victory; sometimes it was used as a prefix, as Winford, or Victory ford, Winslow, or Victory hill, etc., etc., so that a third suggestion may be that Winchelsea owes its name to some forgotten victory in the past.[1]

As early as the reign of Edward the Confessor we find mention of the two fishing villages of Rye and Winchelsea, situated upon opposite sides of the natural harbour formed by an arm of the sea. William I. gave these villages to the abbot of Fécamp, in Normandy, and in the time of Henry II., if not earlier, they became Cinque Ports. Old Winchelsea, situated upon its shingle beach, soon grew into importance, rivalling the other ports on the coast; but great changes followed, and although immense sums of money were spent upon maintaining its sea walls, it was doomed to perish. In 1250 some three hundred houses, out of a total of seven hundred, were destroyed, and gradually the sea overswept it, until in 1287, on the eve of St. Agatha, a fierce storm destroyed everything, and its place was known no more.

Edward I. granted a new site, the present one upon the bold headland or promontory above the sea, called *Iham* or *Itham*, in the parish of Ichelham (Icklesham). Here the new Winchelsea was laid out in marked

1 *Traces of History in Names of Places*, by Flavell Edmunds, F.R.H.S., p. 314.

pretentions for a great and flourishing town consisting of forty squares. Three churches were built and dedicated. Of these, that of St. Thomas still stands in its unfinished state. Of the other two, St. Giles, which stood on the site of the present rectory, and St. Leonard, situated near the windmill, no traces remain. The most important of the religious houses established was that of the Grey Friars, the chapel of which may still be seen; the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, transferred from the old to the new town, and the Hospital of the Holy Rood have disappeared, but the gable wall of the Hospital of St. John, on the Icklesham road, still exists.

New Winchelsea was fortified and protected from the ravages of the sea on the one side, and strengthened by siege walls upon the land side, with the hope of making it the chief commercial and naval port in the kingdom. Portions of the three massive gateways remain, and show the guarded entrances through the town walls. They are Strand Gate towards Rye, Land (or Ferry) Gate towards Udimore, and New Gate towards Fairlight, where originally stood the Holy Cross of Winchelsea. The late thirteenth century Town Hall, or Court House, was probably one of the first buildings erected in the new town. It has "a fine fireplace, a panelled chimney, a 'lock-up,' and traces of an external wooden gallery."[1]

Edward II. sanctioned the founding of a house of Black Friars, part of the walls and vaults of which building still exist in a barn.

Soon, however, new troubles arose, and the town was captured by the French in 1337. They were unable to hold it, for we find ten years later that the port sent twenty-one ships with six hundred men to the siege of Calais under Edward II., and the French navy, as an act of retaliation, repeatedly attacked Winchelsea from 1359 to 1449. In 1359 "3,000 French landed, and having set fire to the town, slew many of the inhabitants who were

[1] *Victoria County History of Sussex*, vol. ii., p. 383.

THE STRAND GATE, WINCHELSEA.

at Mass, and departed with much plunder." The churchyard of the church of St. Giles was enlarged at this date in order to bury the slain.[1]

Under Richard II. the French again wrought grim havoc, and many buildings, including the religious houses, were destroyed. In 1377 the Abbot of Battle successfully defended the town, and held it for three years. Fuller's account[2] of this incident is worthy of quotation :—

> I behold this abbot as the saver not only of Sussex, but England. For as dogs, who have once gotten an haunt to worry sheep, do not leave off till they meet with their reward; so had not these French felt the smart as well as the sweet of the English plunder, our land (and this county especially) had never been free from their incursions.

The abbot's success was short-lived, and by no means as effectual as the account would lead one to suppose. In 1380 he was put to flight, and the town once more destroyed by fire. The last of these calamities occurred in 1449, after which Winchelsea struggled back in part to its former glory.

In 1537, when Queen Elizabeth visited it, she was so much impressed by her reception there that she called it Little London. But the downfall of the place was fated owing to several causes, of which the principal were the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and the strange phenomenon that the sea had so far receded as to leave the town high and dry on its bold headland, so that its power and position as a port were now lost for ever. The merchants left; the friars, having no homes and but little wealth, were dispersed; and decay slowly but surely set in. So completely had its ruin been perfected, that when John Evelyn visited Winchelsea in 1652 he wrote :—

> There are to be seen vast caves and vaults, walls and towers, ruins of monasteries, and a sumptuous church. . . . This place being now all in rubbish and a few despicable hovels and cottages only standing, has yet a Mayor.

1 *Guide to the Parish Church of St. Thomas, Winchelsea*, by Rev. J. D. H. Patch.

2 "Worthies of England," *Sussex*, p. 106. Fol. Lond., 1662.

But little remains to record of the general history of Winchelsea. The Huguenots, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1682, brought hither their looms for the manufacture of silk, cambric, and crape, but after a few years they left to settle in Canterbury and Norwich, and in 1719 the town was entirely without trade. John Wesley, when visiting Sussex, preached at "that poor skeleton of ancient Winchelsea" in 1771 and in 1789, and it was here, in 1790, that his last open-air sermon was preached, the churchyard wall serving him for a rostrum.

Thackeray, in his unfinished novel, *Denis Duval* (1864) well describes the Winchelsea district in later days.

The grand old parish church, dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle—or, as some suppose, to St. Thomas of Canterbury—is described by Champneys as "an almost ideal gem of uniform character and exquisitely-studied detail." It represents the best period of English Church architecture, but was probably never completed, so that it is somewhat difficult to describe the full beauty of the original design.

The plans for the complete building must have included a chancel and choir, with two side chapels, a central tower, transepts, and nave. Of these, the chancel, with its two side chapels, alone remains, though there still exist the ruins of the transepts, with two of the piers which carried the central tower.

No early description of the church has been found, so that it is doubtful if the original plan was ever carried out. In the churchyard stands an old sundial, which is said to mark the limit of the west end of the nave. Many theories have been advanced with regard to the completion of this noble fourteenth century church. In Cooper's *History of the Town of Winchelsea* it is suggested that the whole building was completed, but that the French burnt the nave and other portions when they captured the town in 1380. Against this many antiquaries state that the nave was never finished, and suggest that the

work of building was interrupted and eventually stayed by the spread of the Black Death throughout England in 1349, the workmen being dispersed and the country so impoverished by its cruel ravages that no attempt to complete the work was made after its effects had passed away.

This undoubtedly explains the reason why the foundations were laid, but the work was not carried out to a finish. There is another proof of the existence of a nave to Winchelsea church, but whether it refers to the original building or to some later portion is uncertain. Some years ago, the sexton, when digging a grave near to the sundial, discovered a portion of a floor pavement of tiles, which points to the fact of a nave of considerable proportions having existed.

The noble ruined church is now the principal feature of this old village. In 1790 there stood on the south-west side of the church a detached campanile, or bell tower. The legend runs that the bells, which were originally brought from old Winchelsea, were sent by sea to be recast in London, but the vessel having been lost in a storm, the bell tower was allowed to fall into decay. No remains of it now exist.

The transepts of the church were beautifully proportioned, and they must have formed an imposing feature of the building. Near to the south door there are traces of the roof of a fine porch. Within the ruins, at the south-east corner of the transept, may be seen a unique specimen of a holy-water stoup, or piscina, built in the wall. There may have been an additional altar placed here as in other ancient churches. The crypt was originally lighted by two small windows, and within are three corbels in the wall, the use of which is unknown. The consecration cross is about four feet from the ground at the east end of the south aisle. In the original vestry, situated at the north-east corner of the chancel, there are three stone aumbries wherein the sacred vessels and books

were originally kept. Some authorities consider this vestry to have been an afterthought, and to have formed no part of the original design of the church.

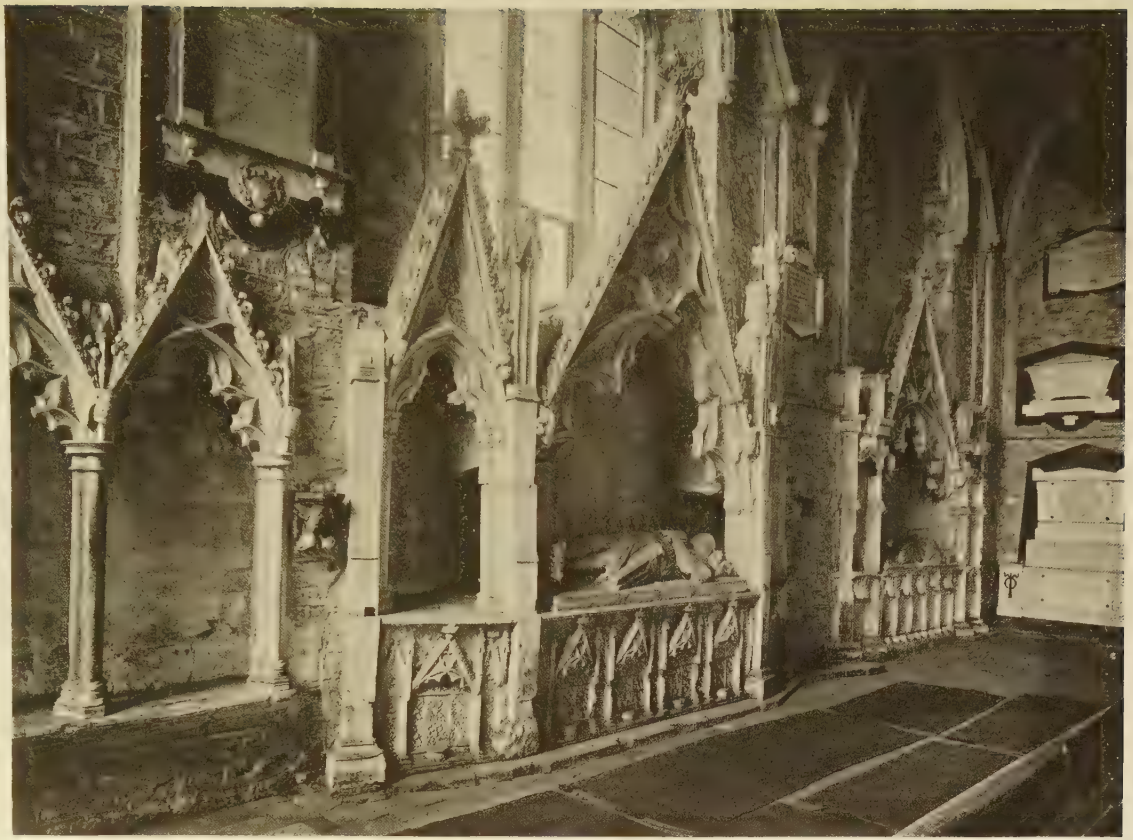
The belfry, on the north side of the chancel, is a later addition, although it now forms a picturesque feature to the rest of the building. It is surmounted by a wrought-iron vane of excellent workmanship. The letters W. M. in the tail of the pointer are the initials of a former churchwarden, who had the vane replaced when it was blown down in a storm.

As we enter the church it will be seen that the porch represents a different style of architecture to the rest of the building. This may be explained by the supposition that it did not belong originally to this building, but was brought here from one of the other churches, or monasteries, at a later date.

The present church consists of the original chancel and side chapels. These are separated from it by three gracefully formed arches on either side, the mouldings of which form one of the chief characteristics, and remain unsurpassed for proportion and beauty of design. The pillars which support these arches are worthy of notice. Unfortunately much of their beauty of proportion was hidden by the high pews which surrounded them until the late rector had them removed. The excellent fourteenth century work in the roof and walls is greatly to be admired.

The late rector of Winchelsea, the Rev. J. D. H. Patch, M.A., writes in his most interesting *Guide to the Church*:—

> The east end of the centre aisle was restored about 1850, at the sole expense of one Thomas Dawes, a resident of Winchelsea. Previous to this restoration the side windows had been bricked up: they were opened and restored to their present condition, some of the old stonework being preserved, and the stained glass was inserted in one of them a few years later. The high pews which then stood against the walls below these windows, and which were reserved for the Mayor and Jurats of the town, were removed, and behind them were found on the one side the piscina



The Alard Chantry, Winchelsea Church.

and sedilia, and on the other, the entrance to the original vestry . . and on a bracket near the sedilia are the remains of a statue found buried among the rubbish in the old vestry. No doubt all this work was imperative, and vastly improved the condition of the east end, however much it may now be criticised, but it is difficult to see what excuse can possibly be made for the removal of the stained glass, and stonework, of the late Perpendicular east window inserted probably in the reign of Henry VI. The glass, after its removal, was sold to visitors who cared to carry away fragments as a memento of their visit, and the present stonework, with its suggestion of irritating cog-wheels in its upper portion, was inserted.

In recent years a few portions of the old glass were found in a box in the belfry, and were pieced together and inserted by the late F. A. Inderwick, Esq., K.C., in a window in the north aisle.

The side chapel, or aisle, on the south side of the chancel is the "*Alard Chantry*," or, as it is sometimes called, St. Nicholas' Chapel. The chapel of the Blessed Mary, or the north aisle, bears also the titles of "*The Godfrey*," or "*The Farncombe Chantry*." John Godfrey founded it in 1441-8 as the Chantry of St. Thomas. This was richly endowed in after years by his daughter, the widow of one Simon Farncombe.

The Alard Chantry contains some interesting monuments. The original altar in this chapel was dedicated to St. Nicholas. No trace of it remains, but near by is a curious niche for a group of statuary. On several of the pillars here may be seen the rude crosses cut by the Crusaders upon their return from the Holy Land, as registration marks made by them as proof that they had fulfilled their sacred vows. The piscina and sedilia in this chapel, also the tombs, still bear traces of the rich colouring with which they were once adorned.

The monuments in the Alard Chantry well repay close inspection. The one in the centre is that erected to the memory of Gervase Alard, Admiral of the Western fleet and Warden of the Cinque Ports under Edward I., 1306. The figure is recumbent, clothed in chain mail, the legs are crossed and the feet are resting upon a lion, while

the hands support a heart. The head cushions are supported by angels, and on the blue upper cushions are heraldic lozenges with quatrefoils in them, whereas the lower ones have small roses upon the lozenges. A richly-carved canopy surmounts the whole, upon which are carved the heads of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor. Rickman describes this monument as "hardly exceeded in beauty of composition by any monument in the kingdom." It is engraved in Blore's *Monumental Remains*, plate vi. The original railings which surrounded it have perished, but the socket holes may still be seen. In 1904 the late F. A. Inderwick, Esq., K.C., a resident of Winchelsea, who was greatly interested in the restoration of this church, undertook the repair of this tomb, when the body of Gervase Alard was found wrapped in sheets of lead and enclosed in a stone coffin some four feet below the ground floor.

Immediately in front of this magnificent tomb will be seen a flat stone originally inlaid with a brass inscription, the translation being: "*Reginald Alard, who died the 15th day of April*, 1354, *lies here. God of his soul have mercy: he who for his soul shall pray*, 50 *days of pardon shall have.*"[1]

The other monument here is to the memory of Stephen Alard, also Admiral of the Western fleet and Warden of the Cinque Ports under Edward II., 1307-27. The shield bears the arms of the Oxenbridges of Brede. This is somewhat strange, and may probably be explained by Leland's record that the two families intermarried. The heads of Edward II. and his Queen adorn the base of the centre gable forming the canopy over it. This tomb was also carefully repaired in 1905, under the direction of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A. A fourth tomb here is marked by a flat stone in the floor, which was placed in its present position by the late rector, who transferred it

[1] For notes on other Pardon Brasses in the county, see Mr. Herbert Macklin's paper in this volume, p. 132.

from the porch to save it. It was originally enriched by a brass, which has been lost or stolen. It represents two figures—a man and woman—beneath a richly engraven canopy, while at the sides and feet are smaller figures.

On the north side of the chancel, in the Farncombe Chantry, may be seen a wall of great thickness separating it from the body of the church. In the vestry lies the effigy of a knight clothed in chain armour. His feet, like the effigies in the Alard Chantry, rest upon a lion, while his hand grasps his sword, upon the hilt of which is seen the Cross and the Sacred Monogram. This tomb needs careful restoration.

In the centre is the tomb of a lady with her left hand, which once undoubtedly held a crucifix, resting upon her breast. Nothing is known of this tomb, which, strange to say, has been cut in two parts by a wall.

The Eastern monument of a young man is also unidentified. It has been thought that the three monuments here represent husband, wife, and son, and tradition reports that they are of a date anterior to the present church, and that they were brought here from an earlier church of old Winchelsea under the hill. Upon the pillar opposite is a carved head of Henry III., also brought from old Winchelsea, but whether it has any connection with the three tombs is now unknown.

HAYLEY AND BLAKE AT FELPHAM

By E. Sage

IN his own day the name of William Blake, engraver, poet, and philosopher, would not have figured in any list of noteworthy men, whether in Sussex or elsewhere. Although sufficiently known to a small circle as engraver and designer, the seeming eccentricity of his genius in this branch of art (even more particularly than in that of poetry) precluded any wide appeal to a public whose taste was limited to the appreciation of such fare as imitative men of William Hayley's calibre were qualified to afford. This latter Sussex celebrity, indeed, albeit of very mediocre talent, was more than honoured in his lifetime, though now remembered chiefly from his connection with Blake. The whirligig of time once more brings in a readjusted vision; we see the true man, to whom his contemporaries denied their fleeting recognition, receiving the lasting homage of posterity, while his patron, who shone as a star in the firmament of the eighteenth century, has sunk into comparative oblivion.

It may be objected that Blake's association with the county was episodic and slight, but if apology be needed for the inclusion of this article in a collection of Sussex memorials, let it be found in the fact that he himself attached no inconsiderable importance to his "three years' slumber on the banks of ocean," the "spiritual acts" of which period he described in a "Long Poem" (*Milton*). Moreover, the linking of his own with the native name of Hayley justifies the bestowal of a

few pages on the remarkable man whose residence at Felpham reflects upon that modest little place an inalienable glory.

Situated in perhaps the least interesting part of the low, dull coast that curves between Selsea Bill on the west and Brighton on the east, Felpham is yet not devoid of a quiet, private charm. Indeed, to Blake, the dreamer of dreams, it was full of strange unearthly beauty. To him it was a place where angels dwelt in hawthorn bowers, where "God Himself" was in every passing hour. Things that to others were trifling and

BLAKE'S COTTAGE, FELPHAM.

commonplace, looked at through his imaginative eyes, could fill him with smiles or tears.

"Sussex is certainly a happy place, and Felpham in particular is the sweetest spot on earth." So the freshly-liberated Londoner spoke of his new home set among its trees, backed by the "green monotonous waves" of the South Downs, which here, though at a distance of some eight or ten miles, draw towards the coast. He who everywhere saw the unseen, was yet fully able to enjoy the material world. He loved the lonely sea-shore as nature, and not man, had fashioned it; and joyfully exchanged the hum of multitudes for the splash and

dash of wind-sped waters, or their long-drawn rhythmic breathing in stiller hours. Behind him lay cornfields, intersected with lanes and banks of wild-flowers. Among the Downs, their hills and dales, he would come upon many a clustering wooded village of Saxon type, with its ancient church, a veritable sleepy hollow; and many a trace, in barrow, tumulus, terrace, or ridge, of ancient occupiers of the land.

While, consciously, Blake seems only to have cared for beauty because of what it symbolized, it is impossible but that he whose writings and illustrations show so intimate an acquaintance with nature was alive to its influence and deep appeal. To those who know that fairies still inhabit the earth, it will not seem incredible that Blake found them among these Downs, and even in his own garden. If some of us have learned that no fairies are so frolicsome as those that haunt these heights and dales—no breeze so fresh, no turf so springy, no birds so free as those that minister to their airy joys—is it surprising that Blake also knew these things, that Blake attended a fairy's funeral, that Blake, with that inward eye of his, found the beauty of heaven to lie about him everywhere? Some years later, talking to a group of friends, he said, in his usual quiet way: "The other evening, taking a walk, I came to a meadow, and at the farther corner of it I saw a fold of lambs. Coming nearer, the ground blushed with flowers, and the wattled cote and its woolly tenants were of an exquisite pastoral beauty. But I looked again, and it proved to be no living flock, but beautiful sculpture."

This idealist found Felpham "a sweet place for study, because it is more spiritual than London. Heaven opens here on all sides her golden gates; her windows are not obstructed by vapours; voices of celestial inhabitants are more distinctly heard, and their forms more distinctly seen; and my cottage is also a shadow of their houses."

This cottage, with its "thatched roof of rusted gold," still drowses in the sunshine; one of those picturesque objects that contribute to the charms of a Sussex ramble. Its projecting roof throws a pleasant line of shade; it has a thatch-covered porch and verandah —the latter running along the whole front, giving a touch of individuality to a cottage-home of otherwise ordinary type. Boasting six rooms in all, it is but one room deep; at the back the sloping roof sweeps almost to the ground. There were flowers in Blake's garden in front, over which, from the upper windows, a far-stretching view of the sea, with its changing lights and shadows, never failed to delight his imaginative glance. Beyond Selsea Bill the mist-crowned Isle of Wight now hung as in a pearl-wreath, now gleamed like some bright-hued jewel in the purple of eve or morn. This "prettiest of cottages," as he called it (though not every one may see in it all that the poet's eye discerned), was reached by a lane that wound its way through the village and over cornfields to the not far distant shore.

Here on the sands, when the tide was low, he would walk and talk, in the earlier transport of his new life, with "majestic shadows, grey but luminous"—Moses, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Homer, Dante, or Milton; from these, and other of his "spiritual friends," receiving direction both as to his work and conduct. His "Long Poem," already referred to, was taken down, he says, "from immediate" (spirit) "dictation . . . without premeditation . . . without labour or study." And that this *should* be written he considered as the grand reason for his having been brought to Felpham.

The more immediate, mundane cause was an introduction from Flaxman, their mutual friend, to William Hayley (a person of importance in his own, and others', eyes), under whose liberal if irksome patronage ("Mr. Hayley acts like a prince," writes Blake) this impetuous,

high-soaring spirit was to be tethered and tied for a space of three years.

Hayley (grandson of William Hayley, D.D., Dean of Chichester) had lately moved to the village from Eartham, a lovely sequestered hamlet nestling on the seaward side of the Downs, seven miles north-east of Chichester. Many years before, Hayley's father had purchased from the heirs of Sir Robert Fagg, Bart., the little estate whose name his son was to render notable; for William retained an intense affection for his childhood's home, and a few years after his marriage made it again his abode. Before long he had turned "the beloved villa" into a spacious mansion, where, with more or less of matrimonial happiness, he and his good, charming, but delicate wife lived in retirement; some part of the popular author's time being occupied in the upbringing of young Thomas Alphonso, Hayley's natural son, a child remarkable for his genuine goodness, and full of the promise of genius. Here, in his well-stocked library—adorned as it was with the art of Romney and Flaxman—amidst his well-laid-out and beautiful garden-grounds, this "man of incoherent transactions," as Southey calls him, enthusiastically planned and penned his multitudinous epitaphs, or other "monumental" verse, with sonnets and ballads, for pastime. Hayley's verse, again pronounces Southey, being "just upon a level with the taste of his age, by the grace of the public he was long king of the bards of Britain"—save the mark! (On the death of Warton, he was offered the Laureateship, which, however, he declined.)

From Eartham emanated one of the works for which he was chiefly esteemed, the *Triumphs of Temper*. Here his *Essay on Old Maids*, and many another essay, history, and drama, were executed to his own supreme satisfaction. And here, as time went on, the self-styled "hermit" was visited by people innumerable; he entertaining in princely style not a few accomplished

William Hayley.

men of letters and others known to fame, among whom Romney, Flaxman, and Cowper may be named. (Romney, indeed, was so frequent a visitor that his generous host had a painting-room fitted up for him there.) Altogether, he seems more fully to have earned the title, "friend of genius," which has been applied to him, than that of his favourite "hermit"!

In 1792, eight years before his death, Cowper spent some six weeks in August and September at Eartham, revelling in its beauty. It lies high, commanding those glorious-hued distances which Sussex lovers know how to appreciate. This, with Hayley's extremely urbane, affectionate treatment of his honoured guest, somewhat charmed away the latter's melancholy.

But now domestic troubles began to thicken about our "hermit." His wife's intermittent mental malady had long ago developed, and her separation from him had been effected. The death of this interesting, accomplished, but afflicted woman occurred in 1797; and not long after, the health of Hayley's much beloved son, on whom his hopes were set, broke down completely. In April, 1798, he settled the lad at Felpham, six miles further south, where he had lately constructed a "marine residence" for their occasional use. He held a fervent belief in the virtues of sea-bathing, and although it was at last found that Thomas had been suffering from misunderstood spinal disease, his sanguine father still fondly built on this and on the fresh sea-air. While preferring for himself to remain at Eartham, he visited his son constantly, riding to Felpham and back with unwearied devotion, and occasionally spending several nights at the cottage.

But all in vain. Poor Thomas, after months of indescribable suffering, which he endured with heroic cheerfulness and patience, died, at the age of twenty, in May, 1800—"the victim of medical mistake," says Hayley's crony, the Rev. John Johnson. He was buried

in the church at Eartham. Hayley himself composed the funeral sermon (a characteristic detail!); and favourite flowers from the Felpham garden were brought for the father's hand to scatter over his "youthful Phidias."

Flaxman, under whom the lad had studied sculpture, was greatly attached to this most promising pupil, and begged permission to erect a memorial of his own execution at his own expense, which token of sympathy seems to have comforted Hayley somewhat. The tablet (marble, with a small bas-relief), dedicated "to the virtues and talents of his beloved scholar," is placed near the chancel window in the little Norman church.

Hayley now grew out of love with Eartham. Thomas had been brought home to die in his father's favourite room, the library; which painful association, coupled with increasing pecuniary embarrassments—the result of a too lavish expenditure—decided the "hermit" on retiring altogether to his Felpham retreat. There, for privacy's sake, high walls had been built around the garden. In one corner stood his plain white cottage, with, for adornment, a turret—high, embattled, commanding extensive views of the adjacent flats, of the sea, and the more distant Downs; a postern-like gate opened upon the lane, wherein, close by, stood the homelier cottage to be later tenanted by Blake. Between this gate and the house ran a covered way, the stables occupying the position of the present lodge of Turret House. Everything at first being idealized by Blake, not excluding his patron, we have a record of his delighted impressions of the whole in the following lines, from a poem addressed to Mrs. Anna Flaxman, wife of his "dear sculptor of eternity," and written to entice them to Felpham:—

> Away to sweet Felpham, for Heaven is there;
> The ladder of Angels descends through the air,
> On the Turret its spiral does softly descend,
> Through the village then winds, at my cot it does end.

A week before that of his son, the death had occurred of Hayley's valued friend, William Cowper, whose last years Hayley's own generous exertions in the matter of a pension had materially helped to soothe. Before long he set about solacing a double grief in the task of compiling a biography of his late friend, to which, nothing loth, he had been urged by Lady Hesketh herself. This undertaken, an engraver must next be discovered for the projected illustrations, whereupon followed Blake's introduction to him by Flaxman. In hottest haste, as the manner of Hayley was, he crowned his scheme by proposing that Blake should come forthwith to live at Felpham, so that the work of engraving might proceed apace under the patron's eye. Blake at once agreed, and a few more months saw his one period of country existence entered upon with the cheerfulness of heart already indicated.

Henceforth we have before us the incongruous spectacle of a fiery, untameable spirit in harness with a worldly but fussily good-natured man, of undertakings many and tedious; the two, nevertheless, travelling on for a while together at a humdrum jog-trot. We see the elder man endeavouring his best to bring his fellow-labourer into line with the rest of the conventional world and with his own uninspired ideas. We see "our good Blake," "our alert Blake," "the kind, indefatigable Blake" (as Hayley has it again and again in letters or journal of this period), carried forth for introduction to this or that excellent person, kindly and worldly as Hayley himself, and chief among whom ranked "the Lady of Lavant," Mistress Paulina Poole. At her house, indeed, our artist well may have spent some refreshing intervals, for she seems to have been a woman of taste and literary discernment, "a woman," says Gilchrist, "respected far and wide, sociable, cheerful, and benevolent." Blake would speak with unfailing pleasure and gratitude of unforgettable kindnesses received at her hands in her

hospitable and "delightful villa" at Mid Lavant (a hamlet distanced but a short drive from Chichester), where were pleasant grounds, sloping down to the tiny river—scarcely more than a brook, or one of those land-springs referred to by Gilbert White, which "we call lavants,[1] and which break out much on the Downs of Sussex, Hampshire, and Wiltshire." Here, delighting the eye, were prospects over woods and dales, with, beyond, the solemn, rounded Downs—in this part bare of trees—Goodwood and the Trundle (St. Roche's) lying off to the right.

"Miss Paulina" was not the only patron secured by Hayley's services. There were besides, Lord Bathurst of Lavant, Lord Egremont of Petworth, and several "excellent ladies," from whom Blake received commissions to paint miniatures, hand-screens, and such-like trivialities, which he executed "very creditably," as Hayley affirms. If he would, he might have grown worldly, perhaps even rich, at this time.

But Blake's real business, as he said, "was not to gather gold, but to make glorious shapes, expressing god-like sentiments"; and under all this, so removed from his own true genius, he speedily grew restive. That early ecstatic note of his began to suffer change. In a letter, dated January 10th, 1802, we read: "When I came down here, I was more sanguine than I am at present; but it was because I was ignorant of many things which have since occurred, and chiefly the unhealthiness of the place"; by "place" he means the cottage. He speaks of a letter from Mr. Butts finding his wife and himself "so ill, and my wife so very ill," that he was unable to answer it when he should. "The ague and rheumatism have been almost her constant enemies, which she has combated in vain almost ever since we have been here, and her sickness is always my

[1] The country people say of them: "When the lavants rise, corn will be dear"; for their rising follows on over much wet weather.

sorrow, of course." Hayley writes, too: "Both my good Blakes have been confined to their bed a week by a severe fever. Thank heaven! they are both revived . . ." But a prime cause of despondency was the interruptions to his "visionary studies" occasioned by Hayley's bustling efforts to benefit and civilize his strange yoke-fellow; his doubting criticisms annoyed and embarrassed Blake. Objections, however kindly meant, directed against Blake's exercise of his own proper talents—the true outcome of his faculty—together with the pressure of commissioned labours, encumbered the dreamer overmuch.

Yet the time was not come for him to set his face against such hindrances and temptations as his "corporeal friends" afforded. Disillusion threatened him, but with marvellous self-command Blake endured the bit and reins for three years. "I was commanded by my spiritual friends to bear all and be silent," he writes, till such time as "I was set at liberty to remonstrate" against any attempt to restrict or refuse "my just right as an artist and as a man."

And again: "I am determined to be no longer pestered with his (Hayley's) genteel ignorance and polite disapprobation. I know myself both poet and painter, and it is not his affected contempt that can move to anything but a more assiduous pursuit of both arts. Indeed, by my late firmness I have brought down his affected loftiness, and he begins to think I have some genius, as if genius and assurance were the same thing! . . . I do assure you that if I could have returned to London a month after my arrival here, I should have done so." Elsewhere he declares: "If a man is the enemy of my spiritual life while he pretends to be the friend of my corporeal, he is a real enemy."

Nevertheless, he affirms that Hayley's goodwill towards him had kept him safe through spiritual terror and contests "not known to men on earth," which else had made the three years of Felpham life "the darkest years that ever mortal suffered."

Both men are remembered still in the village—Hayley, it would appear, not very favourably—each wrapped about in more or less of mythological halo. Tradition credits Hayley, for instance, with having two wives, one of whom was kept chained to an elm in his garden. The tree has ceased to exist, so that the popular voice, which asserts that the marks of chains were distinctly visible on its trunk, cannot be verified. The manacles themselves, likewise attached to the tree, not long since obtained decent interment at the hands of the present owner of Turret House. A pleasanter recollection, which has, moreover, the advantage of truth, connects itself with a mulberry tree, one of the garden adornments. It was planted by Hayley, being a slip from one he had greatly admired in Cowper's garden at Olney. As further evidence of the peculiar estimation in which Hayley was held, Dean Cyril Jackson may be quoted, who, on retiring from Oxford to Felpham, said: "Well, Mr. Hayley, I have come to your village, and hope we shall be what is called good neighbours—that is, see as little of each other as possible."

There are not wanting indications that the impression made by Blake upon the Felpham folk was of a more agreeable nature. We may judge this, for instance, from his neighbours' attitude towards him during the vexatious misunderstanding which resulted in his trial for high treason, out of which he came with flying colours. In a letter to Mr. Butts, too long to quote in full, he outlines the whole "contemptible business." One evening he had discovered a soldier (John Scholfield, a disgraced sergeant, "now a private in Captain Leathes' troop of 1st or Royal Dragoons") in his garden, and, unaware that the man had been invited to work there by his own gardener, had requested him, politely enough, to depart. The other was impertinent, and refused, with threats, to leave. "I therefore," says Blake, "took him by the elbows and pushed him before me till I had got him

William Blake.

out. There I intended to have left him, but he, turning about, put himself into a posture of defiance, threatening and swearing at me." Blake then "stepped out at the gate," and, taking him again by the elbows, pushed the burly fellow forward "down the road about fifty yards, he all the while endeavouring to turn round and strike me, and raging and cursing, which drew out several neighbours." The man was joined at the Fox Inn (where he was quartered) by a second dragoon, and the two vented many abusive threats against Blake and his wife, "but not one word of threat on account of sedition was uttered at that time. This method of revenge was planned between them after they had got together into the stable. This is the whole outline."

As witnesses on his side, Blake had his gardener (who was ostler at the Fox), his next-door neighbour, a miller's wife, and the landlord of the inn, with his wife and daughter, who all evidenced against the charge of sedition. Blake had to appear before a bench of justices at Chichester, only to find they were compelled by the "military to suffer a prosecution to be entered into, though it was manifest that the whole was a fabricated perjury." Blake being forced to find bail, "Mr. Hayley was kind enough to come forward, and Mr. Seagrave, printer at Chichester," each in £50; and Blake himself was bound in £100 to appear at the next quarter sessions. Incidentally we gain a view of the regard in which he was held by the country-folk. All this took place on the eve of his return to London. He says:—

I cannot leave this place without some adventure. It has struck a consternation through all the villages round. Every man is now afraid of speaking to, or looking at, a soldier; for the peaceable villagers have always been forward in expressing their kindness for us, and they express their sorrow at our departure as soon as they hear of it. Every one here is my evidence for peace and good neighbourhood; and yet, such is the present state of things, this foolish accusation must be tried in public. . . . I doubt not I shall receive justice, and am only sorry for the trouble and expense.

The trial came off in the "cheerful old cathedral town" of Chichester in January, 1804. Gilchrist informs us that "the sessions were held in those days in the Guildhall, which is the shell of a Gothic building, having been formerly the chancel, of Early English date, to the old church of the Grey Friars' convent. The fragmentary chancel and the friary grounds are still extant just within what used to be the city walls, at the north-east corner of the town." He continues: "The *Sussex Advertiser*, at that date the only Sussex newspaper, discovers a report (16th January, 1804) of this singular trial, one its inditer little thought would ever become curious and interesting." The report ran thus: "William Blake, an engraver at Felpham, was tried on a charge, exhibited against him by two soldiers, for having uttered seditious and treasonable expressions, such as 'D—n the King, d—n all his subjects, d—n his soldiers, they are all slaves; when Bonaparte comes it will be cut-throat for cut-throat, and the weakest must go to the wall; I will help him," etc., etc.

"After a very long and patient hearing," the *Sussex Advertiser* concludes, "he was by the jury acquitted; which so gratified the auditory that the court was, in defiance of all decency, thrown into an uproar by their noisy exultations." Hayley's satisfaction was also great, and, late in the evening though it was, he carried off "the delivered artist" to supper at Mistress Poole's. No doubt Blake received from this "kind and anxious friend" many congratulations on his escape from a "foolish, fond adventure," none the less "perilous" from his known Radicalism.

While the artist's neighbours were agreed in giving him the character of habitual gentleness and peaceableness, his own opinion of them in return shows "the villagers of Felpham" in a more amiable light than sometimes they are represented. They "are not mere rustics," he writes; "they are polite and modest." He

admires their physique: "The people are genuine Saxons, handsomer than the people about London." Again: "Felpham men are the mildest of the human race," concluding, naively enough, "if it is the will of Providence, they shall be the wisest also." To the primitive inhabitants of the Saxon villages scattered amid the Downs, Blake well may have endeared himself; their quiet happiness and stimulating sense of liberty would react with special appeal on his serene and gracious temperament.

After Blake's trial, he and Hayley seem never to have met again. Intercourse by letter continued for the space of a year or so, chiefly concerning the publication of a second edition of Hayley's *Ballads* and Blake's engravings for the same, and on the collection of material for a life of Romney, on which Hayley was engaged. Everywhere in Blake's letters to his former patron we see how cordially he remembered all kind friendliness towards himself in the past. For Hayley really was kindness itself, and though during their enforced companionship spleen not infrequently was engendered between them, Blake's warm heart could not long harbour resentment towards one from whom he had received such "brotherly affection" as might be shown from friend to equal friend. "I never can balance the account of obligations with you," he affirms; and he and his wife send frequent affectionate remembrances "to all whom we love—that is, to all Sussex"; while of "the delights of the Turret" he speaks again and again.

The "hermit of the Turret" still prosecuted his facile labours in prose and verse, but his public were already tiring of their one-time favourite; after the *Life of Cowper*, his work ceased to attract attention. He continued to spend a more or less retired life at Felpham until his death in 1820. The following lines, suggested by seeing the swallows congregate upon his Turret before their departure in the fall of the year, contain more

simplicity and pathos perhaps than is to be found elsewhere in his poetry, and may form a fit ending to these scattered reminiscences of their author:—

Ye gentle birds that perch aloft,
And smooth your pinions on my roof,
Preparing for departure hence,
Ere winter's angry threats commence;
Like you, my soul would smooth her plume
For longer flights beyond the tomb.
May God, by whom are seen and heard
Departing man and wandering bird,
In mercy mark us for His own,
And guide us to the land unknown.

And so, in kindly spirit, farewell to friend Hayley. Whatever else, he was generous, well-meaning, and amiable.

And so, too, but in different mood, farewell to that other of so different calibre, whose name gives to Felpham its unique claim to glory; a man of whom (says his perhaps most sympathetic critic, A. C. Swinburne) none need "fear to be too grudging of blame or too liberal of praise. A more noble memory is hardly left us, and it is not for his sake that we should contend to do him honour."

OLD-TIME SPORT

By H. A. Bryden

THE brown bear was once indigenous to England and Scotland, and was hunted certainly by our British, and probably by our Anglo-Saxon, ancestors. So lately as A.D. 750 it is laid down in the "Penitentiale" of Archbishop Egbert that "if any one shall hit a deer or other animal with an arrow, and it escapes and is found dead three days afterwards, and if a dog, a wolf, a fox, or a bear, or any other wild beast hath begun to feed upon it, no Christian shall touch it." If the traces of bear-hunting in Sussex are too dim and too shadowy to occupy space in a survey of ancient sport in this county, we have much better material in the case of the wolf, boar, red and fallow deer, and other beasts of chase. The *Urus*, or wild ox, undoubtedly roamed the great forest of Sussex so recently as Roman times, probably much later; but the sport enjoyed with this creature lay in far too remote a period to have left any historical traces.

Of the fiercer beasts of chase, boar and wolf abounded in the vast forest of Anderida, and were pursued by the sport-loving Anglo-Saxons and Normans for many centuries. The great Weald, in truth, took ages in clearing, and even now Sussex can boast of being the most heavily wooded county in England.[1] In these primeval forests boars and wolves found during long ages an ample sanctuary. The wild boar certainly existed in England down to the reign of James I., who hunted this

1 For further particulars see Dr. Cox's paper in this volume, pp. 44-53.

animal at Windsor and elsewhere. The boar was pursued preferably with mastiffs or boarhounds, and spear or sword, and was not counted by ancient hunting authorities as suitable for hunting with a pack of hounds. Tubervile, in his *Booke of Hunting* (1576), says:—

> I saw once a bore chased and hunted with fifty good hounds, at the least, and when he saw that they were all in full crie and helde in rounde together, he turned heade upon them, and thrust amiddest the thickest of them in such sorte that he slew some sixe or seaven in (this) manner in the twinkling of an eye; and of the fiftie houndes there went not twelve sounde and alive to their masters' houses.

Wolves must formerly have been dangerously plentiful in Sussex. After the battle of Hastings it is recorded by Guido, Bishop of Amiens, in his *Carmen de Bello Hastingensi*, that William the Conqueror left the dead bodies of the English upon the field to be devoured by "worms, wolves, birds, and dogs." Even in the reign of Henry III. wolves were still so plentiful in England that the King was accustomed to make grants of land to various persons upon the condition of their destroying these dangerous vermin. In Norman and Plantagenet times the reward paid for the slaughter of wolves was 5s. per head, a considerable sum for those days. In consequence of these rewards, and of the rooted antipathy of farmers and flock-masters, the numbers of these pests steadily declined in the more settled portions of the country. The wolf remained wild in England down to the reign of Henry VII., in Scotland to the reign of William III., and in Ireland until about the year 1770. Mr. J. E. Harting, in his *Extinct British Animals*, says:—

> In the parish of West Chiltington, near Pulborough, Sussex, on the south edge of the lower greensand formation which overlooks the Weald, is a spot called "Wolfscrag," where tradition says the last wolf of the Weald was killed.

But, unfortunately, tradition is silent as to when this event took place.

In England, from Norman times, the proper beasts of

the forest, or royal game, were red deer, fallow deer, roe, and wild boar. It is true that the hare is found once included within this category, in the single instance of the warren of Somerton in the Somersetshire forest of that name.[1] Beasts of chase—a much looser term—included, in addition to the King's game, hare and wolf, as well as fox and other vermin.

Wild cats and martens, which, with badgers and otters, were often associated with the fox and hare in the rights of chase, were, until the seventeenth century, common to Sussex as to many other parts of England. In steadily decreasing numbers martens and wild cats existed in the county until a much later period. Badgers and otters are, of course, still with us.

The English kings, from the earliest times down to the present, have almost without exception been devoted to sport, and especially to hunting. Many of them enjoyed the chase at various places in the county of Sussex. In the Bayeux tapestry is to be seen an excellent representation of Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, riding on his way to Bosham church, near Hayling Island, in Sussex. At Bosham he more than once embarked for Normandy. Harold is depicted on horseback, a falcon on his wrist, and a number of hounds running in front of him. Behind him ride his knights, all, like himself, unarmed. The great Saxon wears a moustache, but is otherwise clean-shaven.

With the Normans came in a much more vigorous era of forest laws. As the county became cleared of forest, chases and parks were created and grants made to great lords and favourites. Robert, Earl of Mortaigne, a near kinsman of the Conqueror, was granted the Rape of Pevensey, with vast hunting rights. It was to this noble, when hunting in the forest beyond Pevensey, that a strange adventure befel on August 2nd, 1100. He

[1] J. C. Cox, *Royal Forests of England*, pp. 26, 35. London: Methuen, 1905.

beheld suddenly a great and terrible black goat, which bore upon its back the semblance of the body of King Rufus. Adjured by the earl, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to say whither it carried its ghastly burden, the thing replied, "I am carrying your King to judgment, yea, that tyrant William Rufus." On that day, and at about that very hour, was Rufus slain in the New Forest.

William the Conqueror no doubt hunted in Sussex, probably about Pevensey, in company with his kinsman, the Earl of Mortaigne, but we have no records of his sport. Henrys I., II., and III. are known to have occasionally pursued the chase also in this county; but it is not until the reign of John that we have authentic traces of royal sport in the South Saxon country. King John hunted often in Sussex, and at Knap (or Knepp) Castle, of which he forcibly dispossessed William de Braose, he made a royal forest. In 1213 the King had two hundred and forty greyhounds at Knepp to hunt the does. In 1215 he writes Roland Bloet, his *Custos* there, "to suffer Wyot our huntsman to hunt with our boar hounds in the park of Knep and to take two or three boars daily." On another occasion several huntsmen were sent, with no less than two hundred hounds, to hunt there.

It is, by the way, worthy of note that deer were hunted in those days quite as much with gazehounds, or greyhounds, as we now call them, as with hunting hounds. No doubt with these swift hounds and in fairly open country the deer could be run down more speedily. Still, in the great forests, where greyhounds could easily become unsighted, true hunting hounds must have been commonly used. In a rare manuscript in the British Museum there is an excellent fifteenth-century picture of the King hunting a well-antlered hart by aid of a big greyhound. As the dog presses on the stag the King blows lustily on his horn. In a following picture the same King is shown shooting the stag clean through the neck with an arrow, he himself drawing his bow while at the gallop.

Edward I. was, as befitted a Plantagenet, a keen sportsman, and hunted from Bramber. In 1299 there is record of payment to one Walter Ball, of forty-one shillings for taking thirteen staghounds as a present to his son Prince Edward. This prince, afterwards Edward II., although a feeble, self-indulgent king, was to the full as enthusiastic a hunter as any of his race. Of all English kings he had, undoubtedly, by far the most intimate personal knowledge of those grand hunting grounds which lay among the Sussex forest country. Before his accession, Edward II. had been banished from court by his father for some hunting offence against a northern bishop. His principal seat was at Ditchling, which then lay in the midst of a country thick with chases, parks, and warrens, all abounding in game. In those days one, at least, of the adjacent forests—that of St. Leonards—contained not only deer, boar, wolf, and other game, but wild forest ponies. Edward II. had also a forest seat, or palace, at Maresfield, from which he hunted Ashdown. This palace became also a favourite resort of Edward III. and of his son, John of Gaunt, the subsequent owner of Ashdown Forest. In 1305 a Canon of Calcote Priory and other persons were convicted of hunting in Sedgewick Park and of wantonly driving a herd of ponies (*equitium*), the property of Mary de Braose, into their nets, and beating them with their bows.

Nets, by the way, seem to have been always used, from very early times, as one method of taking deer. In the reign of Henry VII. it was enacted that

> For as much as both red deere and fallow hath been greatly and chiefly destroyed with nets, called *deer-hayes* and buck-stalls, stalking with beastes to the destruction of forestes, chases and parks. Be it enacted that no person spirituall or temporall, having no parke, chase nor forest of their own keepe or cause to be kept any nets called *deer-hayes* and *buck-stalls* by the space of a moneth next after proclamation of this act made . . . upon paine to forfeit xli. (£10).

The mention of "stalking with beastes" reminds one of how frequently this form of sport was resorted to for

the purpose of shooting a buck or hart. In the fifteenth-century manuscript already referred to are excellent illustrations of some of the devices used. One of these depicts a man, seated in a country cart, shooting with a crossbow at one of a herd of red deer. In another the stalker approaches a good red-deer stag from behind the effigy of a cow, the skin being so arranged to represent the animal in the attitude of grazing.

In Norman and Plantagenet times the ill-faith, arrogance and oppression of the great nobles were severely felt by their neighbours. The Hundred Rolls for Sussex are full of their encroachments, exactions, and usurpations of hunting rights, and of the stout resistance of the humbler folk. For instance, it was complained against Peter of Savoy, when Lord of the Rape of Pevensey, that he had usurped hunting rights over the country near Seaford, where all the free tenants, *tam milites quam alii*, had been accustomed to hunt with their hounds. Followers of the Southdown, Eastbourne, and Hailsham hunts of the present day have, happily, no poaching territorial magnates thus to worry them. Earl de Warenne, of Lewes, was a typical example of the usurping aristocracy of that day. "When Matthew de Hastings, the sheriff, came riding through Hayley (an ancient park north of Ditchling), Earl de Warenne's Master Forester of Cleres and various sub-foresters arrested him and his men and took away their arms." The servants and foresters of the great feudal lords seem, in truth, to have been commonly in the habit of poaching, preventing lesser proprietors from exercising their rights, and even assaulting and maltreating strangers travelling in the neighbourhood of their forests over the King's highway. And in the county of Sussex there were frequent complaints of illegal imparkment, even of land from which crops had once been reaped. In the long run, however, after a tough struggle, the people of England prevailed against these acts of oppression, and presently began to enjoy their liberties and their sport in peace.

Poaching seems to have obtained in mediæval times just as frequently as it does now. And in spite of the ferocious penalties established by the Norman kings, it is certain that many a fat buck and goodly hart fell to the wiles and forest skill of the poorer folk in remote places. There is in the Assize Roll of 1278 (921) the case of one Thomas Alin, who stole a deer at Folkington (near Polegate). The Prior of Michelham, in whose household the man served, was fined. But men of rank and quality seem not seldom to have delighted as much in poaching as did their poorer brethren. Sometimes they trespassed upon a neighbour against whom they had a grudge, sometimes for the pure fun of the thing. The most famous instance of this kind in English history is that of the unfortunate Lord Dacre, of Herstmonceux, who was hanged with three associates—Mauntell, Frowdys, and Roydon—in the reign of Henry VIII. (1541) for slaying John Busbridge, keeper to Sir Nicholas Pelham, of Laughton. Dacre, who seems to have been a wild youth, had for some time, with various boon companions, meditated an assault on his neighbour's deer. On April 30th, while on their way to poach, with dogs and nets (buckstalls), they fell in with Busbridge, a keeper, at Pike Haie, Hellingly. There was a fray, and Busbridge was so mishandled that he died two days later. Lord Dacre had no hand in the actual assault, but he accepted the principal share of the blame, and, being induced to plead guilty—by treachery, some of his contemporaries allege—was sentenced to be hanged, with Mauntell, Frowdys, and Roydon, at Tyburn. A miserable ending for the descendant of so great a family. Pick-Hay, it may be noted, is still known as a field on the farm of Horselunges at Hellingly. The river Cuckmere bounds the bottom of the field, and eighty years ago there still remained a tradition that the place was haunted. The Dacres seem to have been good sportsmen as well as warriors. The old heronry at Herstmonceux, still

flourishing hard by at Windmill Hill, afforded excellent hawking, and in the seventeenth century one finds that pheasants and partridges were, with other game, preserved there by the lord of that period.

The Pelham deer seem to have attracted other poachers. In 1621 Thomas Lunsford, a well-known Sussex squire, afterwards notorious as "Roaring Lunsford" of the Parliamentary wars, was fined £1,750 for a raid on Sir Thomas Pelham's herds. In revenge Lunsford attempted Pelham's life, and was imprisoned and fined the immense sum—for those days—of £8,000.

There seems to have been much poaching in Ashdown Forest; in fact, wherever forests and chases were found poachers and deer-stealers and doubtful characters always abounded. In the reign of Mary, Edmund Hensley, then Master of the Game, proceeded against various offenders in the Duchy of Lancaster Court, charging them with assembling, with others to the number of twenty, about midnight, at Hartfield, "having with them divers and many greyhounds, cross-bows and arrows, long bows and arrows, pikes, forks, bills, and clubs, and arrayed with coats of fenses and skulls of iron . . . then and there . . . in most riotous manner, did chase Her Majesty's deer and did kill one Red Deer and four fallow deer and carried them away and wounded and illtreated the keepers of the said deer." From another charge, a few weeks later, eight fallow deer seem to have been killed; while there is mention of yet another unlawful company who hunted the deer and wounded the keepers.

In 1583 there were proceedings in the Duchy Court against Francis Challoner, who with Mathew Comber had killed a stag within the forest boundary, after what must have been a grand chase, extending from Ashdown through the neighbouring forest of St. Leonards, and thence into the parish of Lindfield.

James I was extremely fond of hunting in Ashdown

Forest, which in his reign seems to have held plenty of deer. Up to the time of the Commonwealth, Ashdown remained fairly well stocked with game, but during the Parliamentary wars the deer seem to have been much reduced by poachers. In a survey during the Commonwealth the head of game is put down at one hundred and twenty red deer and fallow, "which wee (the Commissioners) value in gross at 120 pounds." The Restoration brought somewhat better times for the deer, but in the reign of William III. Ashdown was disafforested, and the wild deer, which had graced this part of Sussex during countless centuries, began steadily to disappear. The red deer went first. At the end of the eighteenth century there were still harboured near Wych Cross twelve or fourteen head of wild fallow deer, in a woodland corner of the forest. The Rev. Edward Turner, in an interesting article in the *Sussex Archæological Collections* (vol. xiv.), says:—

> As long as the timber was permitted to stand—and parts of this forest were a thick wood—the deer were allowed to range in a wild state, unmolested and unharmed, but as their fastnesses were destroyed, they took a wider feeding range, and in doing so fell an easy prey to the farmers, on whose crops they would sometimes commit serious depredations. The last, a doe, was accidentally sprung from a patch of brakes, just below Gill's Lap, by the Hartfield and Withyham Harriers, while pursuing a hare, and after a run of two hours, killed about the year 1808.

"Of this," says Mr. Turner, "I was an eye-witness." Thus passed the last of the wild deer from Ashdown, which itself had been a royal forest during several centuries.

As the deer vanished from Sussex, county gentlemen betook themselves to the chase of hare and fox. One would like to glance at the gradual changes which thus took place, and to touch upon early days and memorable hunts with these quarry, but lack of space absolutely forbids it.

In other branches of sport Sussex must once have been extraordinarily rich. Its great marshes attracted immense

flights of geese, duck, and other wild-fowl, and its decoys, until a period within the memory of old men still living, used to afford their owners a rich harvest. Among the last of the decoys in the county were to be numbered Ratton and West Firle, which were still maintained in working order until little more than a generation since. And what magnificent hawking with wild duck, widgeon, and teal must our ancestors in mediæval times have enjoyed on Pevensey Marshes and other favourite resorts of wild-fowl! Herons, happily, still abound, and the heronries of Herstmonceux, Brede, and elsewhere anciently afforded, as they still do, valuable nurseries for these birds, which were held in so great esteem among falconers. The heronry now existing at Parham Park is of later date. The ancestors of these birds are said to have been brought to Penshurst by the falconer of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, from Coity Castle, in Wales. Thence they migrated to Michel Grove, near Arundel, and, their nesting-places being there cut down, settled themselves at Parham in 1832. Cranes, also much prized by falconers, were once common and formerly bred in Sussex.

The noblest of all the game birds, the great bustard, was in old days very plentiful over all the wide downs of this county. And from very early times these grand birds were pursued with greyhounds, affording magnificent sport to mounted men, who followed the chase of the great birds with immense enjoyment. Gradually they became scarcer, but until the beginning of the last century they were still not uncommon. Dr. John Hill, in his *History of Animals* (1752), says: "I have seen great numbers of them on the downs in Sussex; they run away at the approach of man, but rarely, and indeed difficultly, take wing. They are often taken by greyhounds in a fair course in the manner of a hare. Their flesh is very well tasted." As a matter of fact, the great bustard flies well enough, but trusts very much to the speed of its legs, which is considerable. Mr. Borrer, in his *Birds of Sussex*,

states that bustards were often hunted with greyhounds by his father, who died at an advanced age in 1844. "He told me he had seen many a good course with these birds. He used to go out early in the morning, after a foggy night, to look for them feeding in the wet turnips, where they were frequently so soaked as to be unable to fly. He generally found them in little parties of from five to ten, and sometimes took five or six in a morning." Our earlier ancestors were also accustomed to stalk these birds, by the aid of a dummy stalking-horse, with bow, crossbow, and gun.

THE CASTLES OF SUSSEX

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO BODIAM

By J. Tavenor-Perry

ALTHOUGH the position of Sussex on the south coast of the country made it particularly liable to invasion from the Continent, neither in their number nor in their importance can its castles compare to those of Kent or of the border counties of the kingdom. Sir J. D. Mackenzie, in his work on *The Castles of England*, gives a list of eighteen Sussex castles, which he divides among five chief, ten minor, and three non-existent; but neither in the classification nor in the total number does the list he gives appear to be perfect. Among the "chief" castles he places Hurstmonceux, which was only a castellated mansion, and among the "minor" castles he enumerates Bramber, which at the time of its erection ranked among the principal defences built under the direct influence of the Conqueror. In his list of the "minor" castles, while he mentions Ewhurst in Shermanbury, Crowhurst, and Scotney, he omits La Mote in Iden, the ruins at Haben bridge in Rogate, and several others which their owners received license to crenellate.

The defensive earthworks to be found scattered throughout the county are very numerous, according to the lists published by Mr. George Clinch in the *Victoria History of Sussex;* and some of these rude defences became eventually the nuclei of several of the castles

erected by the Norman lords among whom the county was parcelled out. The divisions of the county were entirely rearranged after the Conquest; and it was partitioned into six rapes, which formed parallel strips divided by lines crossing from north to south, each traditionally regarded as containing within it a forest, a river, and a castle. So far as the castles were concerned, this remains substantially correct to this day, although it may be doubtful if Hastings ever was a castle of much importance. Of these six chief castles, which were, taking them in order along the coast, Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, Bramber, Arundel, and Chichester, all of which seem to have been erected on the site of pre-Norman fortifications, four, those of Hastings, Lewes, Bramber, and Arundel, were built on or about ancient earthworks, and two, Pevensey and Chichester, within the site of Roman fortifications.

Of these six castles, none can compare in antiquity and historical associations with that of Pevensey,[1] which in its earlier history rivals in interest the great fortress of Dover. It stands on a portion of the site of the fortified town of Anderida, erected by the Romans, which formed one of their most important ports in the island, and from which three principal roads branched out—to the east to Dover, to the west to Portsmouth, and to the north to London. It was within these walls that the Romano-British people took refuge from the Saxon onslaught under Ella, who stormed the fortress in 491, and

1 Although there is no space in this article for any detailed description of Pevensey castle or of the recent interesting excavations which have been made about it, the following note from Mr. Harold Sands should not be omitted: "Recent excavations in the mound of *débris* heaped up against the inner face of the eastern wall of the castle resulted in the discovery of the foundations of a larger rectangular keep, the masonry of which, from its rude workmanship, denotes a very early Norman origin not long posterior to the Norman Conquest; the walls are 13 feet in thickness, and the size 81 by 60 feet. A Roman tower has been incorporated with the south-east angle, and at the others were three huge semicircular bastions, solid below, with cells in thickness of wall, and on the south face a large rectangular projection, probably the fore-building."

slew every Briton in the place. When William landed hereby six hundred years later the place appears to have been undefended, though the port was still open and in use; and after his victory, as soon as the country was settled, he granted Pevensey to his half-brother, the Earl of Morton, who forthwith erected within the enclosure of the Roman walls, at the south-east angle, a strong castle. But although it was built mainly to serve as a defence to the port and coast, in after years it only suffered from sieges in the internal troubles of the country; and in spite of its having been much strengthened in Edwardian times, the gradual silting up of the port led to its final abandonment. In some respects the story of Chichester castle is like that of Pevensey, for it was built by Roger de Montgomerie, to whom the Conqueror had given the town and rape of Chichester, within and at the north-east corner of the ancient walls of the Roman town of Regnum. This castle was destroyed, however, by Henry III., in 1216, but a mound on the site, within the priory grounds, is said to mark the position of the original keep.

Of the four castles erected on or about ancient earthworks, that of Bramber preserves in the most marked manner the evidences of its origin. The ruins of the castle stand in a gap of the South Downs at a point which was once the head of the estuary of the river Adur, and which in all probability marks the position of the Roman Portus Adurni. The site of the castle is of an oval form surrounded by a deep, dry fosse; and although in part perhaps a natural formation, had been undoubtedly artificially shaped, and suggests a prehistoric origin. The Saxon name of the place, Brymmburh, which signifies a hill-fortification, shows that it was in use in pre-Norman times; but as it had to defend the port as well as one of the most important passes through the hills, De Braose, to whom the Conqueror assigned the rape of Bramber, erected a strong fortress in the centre of the earthwork,

Pevensey Castle : Ruins.

leaving the ancient surrounding fosse untouched. At Arundel, where the estuary of the Arun reached up to another gap in the South Downs, there had been some early earthworks, as the mound under the ancient circular keep testifies; and here, after the Conquest, Roger de Montgomerie erected a new castle. Little, comparatively, of the mediæval structure has survived to our day, and the greater part of the buildings now visible from the town was only erected in the eighteenth century; but the magnificence of the site and the beauty of the surrounding timber make it altogether one of the most charming pictures in the South of England.

Lewes castle, interesting for the picturesqueness of its ruin and for its associations with the Barons' War and the battle of Lewes, retains, in the peculiar configuration of its defences, some indications of high antiquity. The two mounds, one of which is called Brackmount, and the other crowned by the keep, may have had an artificial origin; and on and around them William de Warren, the son-in-law of the Conqueror, who received Lewes as a grant, erected his castle, and some scanty remains of his work, together with the alterations and additions of Edwardian times, make up the pile of picturesque ruin which is now known as Lewes Castle.

Hastings castle, built on the site of an ancient earthwork, perhaps by Robert d' Eu, the uncle of the Conqueror, to whom Hastings was assigned, was never of any great importance, and was no protection to the river Rother, the most important river in East Sussex; and when, in 1377, the French, in one of their descents upon the coast, sacked and burned Rye, the necessity for some more efficient protection than Hastings could afford became apparent. The necessity produced the man; and on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, the work of erecting a castle to defend the valley of the Rother from the French raiders was entrusted to a man who had been trained to the freebooter's life among the banditti who

roamed over France after the commencement of the Hundred Years' War. And that man was Sir Edward Dalyngruge.

The story of the descent of the manor of Bodiam and of the families to whom it from time to time belonged have been told at length by Mark Anthony Lower, in his *Bodiam and its Lords*, and need not be repeated here; but an account of Dalyngruge and his associations is necessary to enable us to understand how it was that a castle, so unlike in every respect to the others of the neighbourhood, and so distinctly French in its chief characteristics, came to be erected in Sussex.

This Edward Dalyngruge, who came of a good Sussex family, and whose brother Roger was Sheriff of the county, was born about 1346, and seems early to have joined himself to the company of Sir Robert Knollys, the Sire de Derval, who was engaged in the quarrel between John de Montfort and Charles of Blois for the dukedom of Brittany. Sir Robert had espoused the cause of Montfort, who was also supported by the English interest, and who eventually, on the death of Charles, obtained the investiture of the duchy from the French king; and Montfort, as a return for Sir Robert's assistance, granted him, with many other privileges, the town and castle of Derval, near Chateaubriant, from which he took his title. This knight was one of the most unscrupulous and most dreaded of the English free-lances which, after the peace of Bretigny, remained in France and preyed on that unfortunate country. His expeditions went far and wide through Berri, Picardy, and southward nearly to Avignon, and he was not ashamed to publish the object of his visits, but embroidered on his banner—

Qui Robert Canolle prendera
Cent mille moutons gagnera.

It was in the service of this noble knight that young Dalyngruge engaged himself; and with him he had frequent opportunities of studying in a practical way the

art of military fortification, not only in the castle of Derval, but in many others which he must have come across in their widely extended ravages. In 1373, when the Sire was absent from Derval on one of his forays, the castle was suddenly invested by Du Guesclin, and the garrison, hard pressed, agreed to surrender within a stated time if not relieved, and gave hostages as a security. Sir Robert arrived, however, in time to relieve his castle; and when Du Guesclin returned, accompanied by the Duc d'Anjou, to take surrender, he was so infuriated to find himself baulked that he had the hostages, two English knights and an esquire, beheaded within sight of the castle. Not to be outdone, the Sire replied by having, in a window-place high up and visible to the besiegers, four of his prisoners, three French knights and an esquire, similarly dealt with, and their heads thrown into the moat; after which Du Guesclin retired from the siege.

With the change that came over the fortunes of the English arms in France during the closing years of the reign of Edward III., the knights retired to England laden with the spoils of the ravaged country, where they were welcomed with honour, both for their military achievements and their great wealth. Sir Robert afterwards held many important positions, and eventually, like his friend Sir Walter Manny, after devoting much of his wealth to religious purposes, died in the odour of sanctity. The younger knight, Sir Edward Dalyngruge, having married the heiress of the Wardeux family, the then owner of the manor of Bodiam, devoted some of his riches and all the skill and experience which he had acquired in France to erecting the castle of Bodiam, which we have now to describe.

The manner of building castles in France had greatly changed during the century preceding the Hundred Years' War. So far as possible they began to build them on level ground, where they could be defended by the waters of a moat; and from the middle of the thirteenth century

they were generally built in the form of a parallelogram, protected at the angles by boldly projecting round towers and without any distinct keep, the castle itself forming a donjon. In these castles the entrance was specially strengthened by double towers, and frequently had a barbican, while the surrounding moat was made broad and sometimes duplicated. Such appears to have been the castle of Derval, now reduced to an almost undistinguishable mass of ruin; but enough still remains to show that it was strengthened by nine towers, as at Bodiam, which rose out of the water of the moat, and that it was, moreover, surrounded by three moats. A typical example of this phase of French military art is given by Viollet-le-Duc in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture*, in the plan of the castle of Villandraut, near Bazas, which is likely enough to have been visited by Dalyngruge, and which is curiously similar in its dimensions and in other respects to Bodiam. Villandraut castle was erected about the middle of the thirteenth century, and is slightly inferior both in size and in the strength of its defensive works to Bodiam, but it was less fitted to be a place of residence than the house and home Dalyngruge built for himself and his wife. The body of the French castle measured about 154 feet by 127 feet, whilst the English was 158 feet by 142 feet; and although in each case the angles were protected by boldly projecting round towers, at Bodiam three faces of the curtain had in the centre an additional square tower, and the two great towers of the entrance were square instead of circular. This alteration was no doubt suggested by Derval, which had nine towers, but their height, if we may judge from a portion of a tower still standing, which measures 90 feet from the bottom of the moat, considerably exceeded those of Bodiam.

The moment selected by Dalyngruge for the erection of his new castle was immediately after the incursion of the French into Sussex, in 1377, when they burnt Rye,

Bodiam Castle.

and the defenceless condition of the valley of the Rother became evident. Through his marriage with Elizabeth Wardeux, the heiress of the manor of Bodiam, he was in possession of a house near the Rother, though at some little distance from its banks, doubtless old-fashioned and inconvenient; and although it was surrounded by a moat, which remains to this day, it must have been unsuitable for conversion into a defensible castle. He no doubt spent some time in maturing his plans before he commenced building operations; and the year before he received the license to build he was engaged in diverting a neighbouring water-course, with a view perhaps to his new moat. The site he selected for his castle was on the left bank of the Rother and on the course of a little brook, which afterwards formed the chief source of his water-supply, across which he raised a great dam, and formed a reservoir or lake, which measured 525 feet from north to south, and 330 feet from east to west; and in the centre of this he constructed his castle. To the north-west the ground rose somewhat abruptly from the edge of the moat, a circumstance of no particular moment before the days of artillery, and fell away from the south and south-east, in which direction the battlements commanded an extensive view down the valley of the Rother to the sea and of the hills over Ewhurst and Northiam. There was, however, one weak point in the external defences, which might have been taken advantage of had the castle been besieged in mediæval times, in the extreme steepness of the dam towards the river banks, which would have permitted sappers to have worked at its base unseen from the castle, and thus to have tapped and emptied the moat,' on which the fortress mainly depended for its safety. In his general plan Dalyngruge followed the model of Villandraut with the variations which seem to have been suggested by Derval; but he very much increased the strength of the main entrance so as to guard against any sudden attack from a force raiding in the neighbourhood,

a mode of warfare with which he was familiar. In the great depth of the entrance archway and the multiplication of the portcullises he may have followed his model, but he placed an advanced work or barbican before his entrance, also furnished with a portcullis, and connected with it by a drawbridge. Before this again he formed an octagonal platform, some fifty feet across, and battlemented round, forming a *tête-du-pont* capable of accommodating a large number of fighting men, and from this he carried a wooden bridge, possibly on light stone piers, to another platform built on the west side of the moat, thus placing the approach to the castle at right angles to the entrance. The postern-gate tower was also protected by a portcullis and a drawbridge, and very likely had a bridge of light construction, easily destroyed, to the south side of the moat, where there was a platform built to receive it.

The value of the defences of the castle was never practically tested by a siege in mediæval times. During the Wars of the Roses a commission was issued to the Earl of Surrey and others to take the castle from the rebels, and on the 24th May, 1484, it was surrendered, probably without any fighting; and it is doubtful if, after that date, it was ever again in regular occupation. Indeed, from that period, having been used for less than a century, this stately fabric was suffered to fall into ruin; and its present condition is to a great extent due rather to the lapse of years and natural decay than to the destructive hand of man. Even yet, viewed from a little distance, it appears an almost perfect building; and it is only when the interior is reached that the extent of the ruin which has fallen upon it can be appreciated.

At the present time the castle is approached by a narrow causeway which has been made across the moat from the north bank, which leads over the platform already mentioned to the ruins of the barbican, of which only the west side of the archway is left standing. This was

originally vaulted like the main entrance, with a guard-chamber above it, to which a passage in the thickness of the wall and a newel staircase, of which some remains are left, gave access. The groove for the portcullis and the

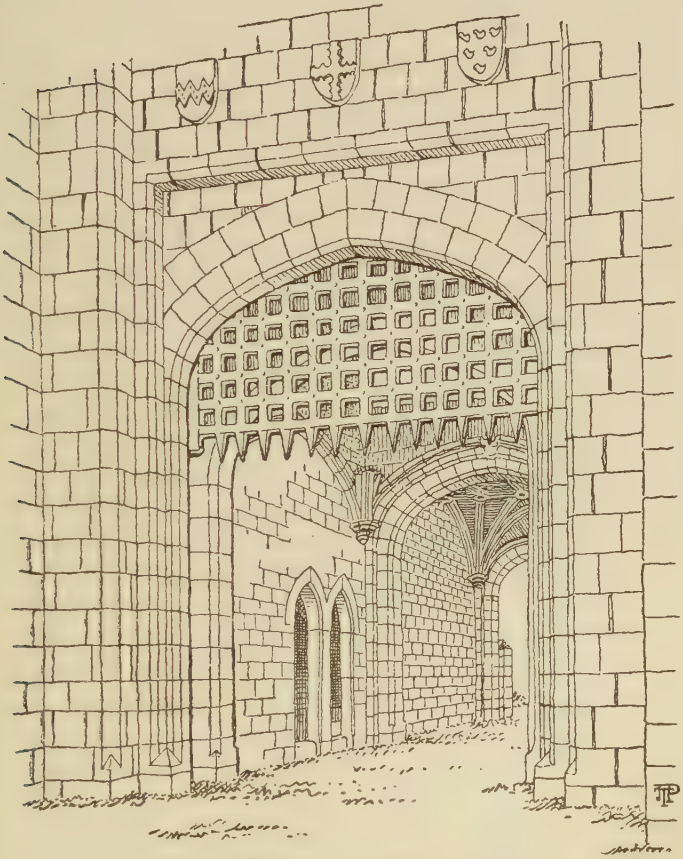


FIG. 1.—ENTRANCE GATEWAY, BODIAM.

stone on which the end of the drawbridge turned can still be seen.

The great entrance gateway of the castle (fig. 1) stands back from the barbican about fifty feet, and is flanked by

two great towers, pierced for bolt-holes and strengthened above with large and boldly projecting machicolations which are continued round all the fronts and returns of the towers between the curtain walls except the space in the centre, which is formed into a single arch the width of the entrance. Over the archway are carved three shields of arms, the centre one bearing those of Sir Edward Dalyngruge as the builder of the castle, on the dexter the arms of Bodiam, and on the sinister those of the family of Wardeux, from whom, by his marriage with its heiress, he came into possession of the manor. At some little distance above the centre shield is carved the Dalyngruge crest, a unicorn's head, which corresponds with one carved on the south wall of the south transept of Fletching church above the brass of a knight and his lady, supposed by Mr. Lower to represent Sir Roger Dalyngruge, the brother of Sir Edward, and his wife. These arms are blazoned by Mr. Lower as follows:—Bodiam: Or, a fesse dancettée sable bezantée. Wardeux: Sable, six martlets, three two and one, Or. Dalyngruge: Or, a cross engrailed gules. Over the postern gateway are also carved three shields, the centre one, placed couchée, bearing the arms of Dalyngruge's patron and friend, Sir Robert Knollys; but the two side ones, for reasons which will never now be known, were left plain.

Immediately within the great gate the entrance is divided into two chambers, which were vaulted with groin ribs, having the bosses pierced at their intersection, through which molten lead and other unpleasant things might be poured on the heads of any foes who had forced an entrance thus far. The arch between the two chambers contained a second portcullis, and the arch which led into the quadrangle had yet a third, so that the entrance was well defended. The groining of the first chamber has fallen in, but that of the second remains intact, having been preserved by the ruins above and the thick vegetation. The chambers in the towers on each side of the entrance

were used solely for defensive purposes, and had arrow-slits and bolt-holes in the walls; and on the first stage in the thickness of the wall between the centre and east tower is a small groined chamber, which possesses in its boss the only piece of carving left inside the building (fig. 2). On entering the quadrangle the decay and destruction which have resulted from the neglect of centuries become evident; but although nearly the whole of the internal buildings and walls have disappeared, enough remains to indicate the purposes to which the various parts were

FIG. 2.—GUARD-CHAMBER IN ENTRANCE TOWER, BODIAM.

FIG. 3.—WINDOW IN LADY'S APARTMENT, BODIAM.

devoted. The rooms along the north side of the quadrangle, and east and west of the entrance, seem to have been occupied by the garrison and as stables, and those along the east side for servants and for storage purposes, and in one of them is a great double chimney in which they smoked and dried their annual supply of meat. All of these rooms must have been lighted by windows from the quad, as the curtain walls are only pierced here and there by narrow slits.

The westernmost room in the south range of buildings was the kitchen. In it may still be seen two great

fireplaces, each big enough to roast a whole ox, and the one to the north has attached to it a great brick-lined oven for baking the bread. The fireplaces had their backs lined with tiles laid flat, and these tile linings in the kitchen, as well as in the numerous fireplaces throughout the castle, remain quite perfect. Adjoining the kitchen eastward were two rooms for the use of the cellarer and the butler, divided from each other by a passage from the kitchen to the buttery-hatch. The floor over these rooms is supposed to have contained the state bedrooms, reached by a good staircase in the postern tower, and the two-light windows by which they were lighted are the most ornamental in the building. The wall of the buttery-hatch, which faced up the great hall, contains an arcade of three arches, opening towards the kitchen, and over them was the minstrels' gallery. The remainder of the south building was occupied by the great hall, a room 50 feet by 25 feet, and the full height of the curtain walls. At its lower end were the principal entrance from the quad and the entrance to the postern, both, no doubt, enclosed by a screen under the gallery; and at the upper end was the daïs, with a separate entrance for the lord and his guests from the private apartments placed in the south-east angle of the quadrangle There is no fireplace in the walls of the hall, which must have had a hearth fire in the centre, the smoke escaping through a louvred *flèche* in the roof, as at Penshurst. The windows of the hall must have opened chiefly into the quad, but a very fine two-light transomed daïs window remains overlooking the moat. At the end of this daïs, by the entrance from the private apartments, was the principal staircase of the castle, by which access was gained to the rooms on the upper floor along the main east wall. Beneath these were the apartments of the lord and lady, with their windows looking out over the valley of the Rother, from which, when overcome with the ennui of their monotonous life, they could amuse themselves with

Bodiam Castle: Buttery, Kitchen, and Hall.

feeding the swans on the moat, as related in the *chansons* of the period (fig. 3). The chapel, placed at the northern end of the east range of buildings, is about 30 feet by 20 feet, and occupied the whole height of the curtain wall. At the east end was a three-light pointed window, and the main entrance was from the quad; but there was a smaller one from the private apartments, and those on the first stage had also large two-light windows looking into the chapel. The piscina still remains, and in the sacristy are the aumbries for the plate and relics.

All the towers except the two at the entrance seem

FIG. 4.—STAIRCASE TURRET AND CHIMNEY, BODIAM.

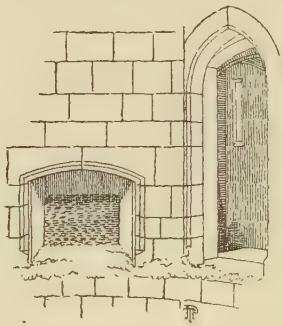


FIG. 5.—GARDEROBE AND FIRE-PLACE IN TOWER, BODIAM.

to have been used as private chambers on each stage, and are well lighted and have a good newel staircase for access, ending in a turret which gave access to the roof (fig. 4). Each room is provided with a *garderobe* with its complete drain, and these, together with the numerous fire-places, point to a desire on the part of the builder to make the castle comfortable as well as safe (fig. 5). All these rooms are also provided with cupboard accommodation in the shape of stone aumbries in the wall, which may suggest that the lady had a voice in the preparation of the design; and all the larger windows are fitted with

recessed stone seats. The south-west tower had chambers more important than the rest, perhaps for the lord's use, the lower stage being groined; and the east square tower was most likely devoted to the lady. The upper part of the south-west tower was built as a columbier, pigeons being an important accessory to such a castle, and the holes for the pigeons' nests and for their entrance to the tower remain perfect. In a word, Bodiam, although so distinctly French in its main features, was one of the most perfect castles erected in England at the close of the fourteenth century; and at the same time it was so much in advance of contemporary work in its arrangements for comfort and convenience as to be in that respect as complete as the great mansion houses which came into vogue a century or more later.

As the erection of Bodiam may be attributed to the wealth its founder acquired during the earlier part of the Hundred Years' War in France, so Hurstmonceux seems to have been built out of the gleanings of the spoil of that unhappy country during the latter part of that period. Sir Roger de Fiennes, its builder, fought at the battle of Agincourt, and later held the important and lucrative office of Treasurer to Henry VI. He pulled down an old manor-house which stood on the site, and in 1440 began to erect a new castellated mansion of an entirely novel character. The house, which is square on plan with angle and intermediate towers, is built of reddish-brown Flemish bricks, and was not improbably erected by Flemish workmen. Although not a castle in the strict sense of the word, it was so built, with its battlemented walls, machicolated towers, moat, drawbridge, and portcullis, as to make it capable of resisting for a time any attack likely to be made upon it. The entrance gateway, with its lofty flanking towers, heavily machicolated, formed one of the most imposing, and in its ruin one of the most picturesque, castle entrances to be found in England (fig. 6).

Of the minor castles the most important is Amberley,

FIG. 6.—GATEWAY OF HURSTMONCEUX CASTLE.

which was built at an early date by the Bishops of Chichester as a fortified manor-house, but has been much altered in the course of centuries. It is of an oblong form with square angle towers, and the entrance on the south face is set between two round machicolated towers. A great deal of the work of the fortification was carried out in 1377 by Bishop Reade; and the mansion in the inner court was erected in 1508 by Bishop Sherbourne; but the castle was reduced to ruin by Waller in 1643.

Scotney castle, at the other end of the county, the boundary line of Kent and Sussex passing through the ruins, was surrounded by the waters of the little river

Beult, which formed its moat. There are considerable remains of the ancient fortifications, including a heavily machicolated round tower, but as it was in regular occupation until the last century, continual alterations have effaced most of its castellated appearance.

Until the beginning of the last century considerable remains of the Norman castle of Knepp were in existence, and have since been utilized for road-making; but one tall, gaunt fragment of the ancient keep still survives. It was built by one of the De Braose family of Bramber on a point of land between two branches of the Adur. It was originally moated, and seems to have been a strong defensive work, but having regard to the narrowness of the river at this point, it is difficult to understand the object of its erection. The manor-house of Ewhurst, in Shermanbury, has been destroyed, but there is a sheet of water which formed part of the moat still remaining, as well as a fine gate tower, of perhaps the former half of the fourteenth century, very much restored. The tower, or castle, of Verdley, in Farnhurst, was destroyed some time since for road-making, though there are still some traces of the moat. At Sedgewick was a castle, possibly rebuilt in 1258 by John Maunsell, described as Treasurer of York, who obtained two licenses to crenellate in 43 & 46 Henry III. Very slight remains of the buildings are now to be seen, but the double moat which surrounded them still exists. The picturesque square tower at Rye known as the Ypres, but commonly called the Wiper's, tower, was a portion of the fortifications of that ancient town.

Although the castles of Sussex are neither as numerous nor as important as those of some other counties, they retain examples unrivalled in historic associations such as Pevensey, in picturesqueness of position and surroundings such as Arundel, and in completeness such as Bodiam, which will compare with the finest of their class still existing in England.

RYE

By M. Jourdain

THE first impression produced by Rye upon early mediæval minds must have been that of a hold impregnable, even in its unwalled state. Fixed at its sea-post, with the sea for shield, how strongly it must have stood in the old days, when the steep rock-built town was entirely surrounded by water. "On the south and east the front that it offered was precipitous; on the north and west it sloped gently towards the not very distant land."[1] Gradually the necessity of fortification was considered, with the result that William de Ypres, the commander of Stephen's mercenaries, built the tower that stands to-day at the south-east angle of the town; and, later, in the reign of Richard I., license to fortify the town by building a wall on the cliff at the east side was granted by a charter, in which this is declared to be "the greatest safeguard which could be made in these parts for. the security of our kingdom."[2]

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1 *The Cinque Ports.* F. M. Hueffer.

2 We have in 1336 a murage grant for three years to the mayor, barons, and commonalty, and another for five years in 1343, which was extended for another five years in 1348. In 1369 the mayor, etc., had a licence to enclose the town, "which had been burnt by foreign enemies." In 1372 they were to have for three years the profit of the bailiwick of the town and £8 yearly, to aid them in making walls, ditches, gate, and pales in and around the town. In 1377 the customs were granted to the men of Rye for five years in aid of walling and fortifying the town and building two vessels. After the burning of the town in that year, the barons began at once to enclose and to fortify it with a stone wall.

In the troublous reign of King John, Rye was captured and held by the French during the Dauphin's invasion of England, but the next King resumed possession of the town.[1] Rye, like Winchelsea, had been given by Edward the Confessor to the abbot and monks of Fécamp, in Normandy; they now received in exchange two manors in Gloucestershire and the Hundred of Navenby, in Lincolnshire.

The completion of the fortifications of Rye was, as we have said, deferred until the reign of Edward III., who, in 1360, erected a gateway, strengthened by a portcullis and flanked with towers, at the north-east angle of the town. "From this gateway extended a wall, with a fosse, all along the north face of the town, and partially along that of the west, until it met the steep cliffs, which from this spot to the south-west corner, and thence along to the south front, were considered sufficiently abrupt to require no further strengthening."[2] What made these fortifications especially necessary was the *inning* of the shallows separating Rye from the mainland, which were formed by the mouth of the three rivers, the Rother, the Brede, and the Tillingham. The incursions of the French certainly seem to have become more frequent and successful as the process of inning was completed, about 1366. But the fourteenth century, especially the latter part, was a time of trial for Rye. How many times was it sacked and partially burnt! In 1337 the French fleet invaded Rye, but the Cinque Ports' squadron, arriving in time, chased the French home to Boulogne, set fire to part of that town, and hanged twelve captains of the French fleet. In 1360 the French were more successful. Their navy, coasting about the shores of Kent and Sussex, landed at Rye and Hastings, spoiled the towns, and did much damage to the fishermen. In 1369 the mayor, etc., had license

[1] In 1247. [2] *Guide to Rye, Winchelsea, and Neighbourhood.*

THE LAND GATE, RYE.

to enclose the town, "which had been burnt by foreign enemies," with a stone wall, and to fortify and crenellate it. It was immediately after the death of Edward III. that the French again set upon the town, and "within five hours brought it wholly into ashes, with the church that then was there of a wonderful beauty, conveying away four of the richest of the toune and slaying sixty-six; left not above eight in the toune. Forty-two hogsheads of wine they carried thence to the ships with the rest of their booty, and left the toune desolate."

After this destruction the barons began at once to enclose and refortify it with a stone wall, but in 1380 it was again burnt (with Appledore, Hastings, and Portsmouth). In 1384 another incursion was feared, so that, "it being understood that the French were trying to take it," it was directed that as many trees as were necessary for its enclosure and fortification should be cut in the woods of Brede and other woods of the abbot of Fécamp, in this county, and two hundred oaks were to be cut in the park of Crowhurst and taken to this town for the same purpose.[1] Rye escaped this time, but the last recorded and most terrible invasion took place in 1448, shortly after Henry VI. had confirmed the town's charter. As a result of this incursion the town was so impoverished as to be unable to furnish its quota of ships, and, to aid it, Tenterden was erected into a limb or feeder of the ancient town.[2]

Stow says of this attack: The French set upon the town "upon the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles," and "with small labour took it"; as for the townspeople, "by their want of heart and courage the toune was taken with all their goods." To the enmity of the French was now added the enmity of the sea, which, in 1448, now encroached on the eastern

1 "Rye and its Inhabitants." *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xvii.

2 August 1st, 1448.

cliff, and so undermined its base that the wall built by Richard I. was thrown down, and there was henceforth no longer any protection on this side. The town from this time may be considered to have been helpless and disarmed, and the loss of the Bordeaux fleet in the time of Henry VII. was a blow, says Jeake, after which Rye never recovered its ancient shipping. Thus towards the close of the fifteenth century Chaucer could instance "Wynchelse and Ry" as examples of the rapid fall of once important towns.[1]

Rye, less important than Winchelsea, never contributed as many ships to the navy. As a rule Rye's contribution was twenty-one ships, manned by one hundred and five men. "It also owned a fleet of merchantmen, generally employed in the wine trade. The number and nature of these ships are equally obscure. The most plausible conjecture is that these ships were identical with those contributed to the Royal Navy. It seems extremely unlikely that the Ports' men would have left their ships unemployed during the three hundred odd days of the year the King's right did not cover. Their end is unexplained.[2] In Elizabeth's reign the ships from Rye must have done service against the Armada, for in 1589 the town was presented by her "with six brass guns, beautifully ornamented with the arms of Spain, which stood on the spot called the Green."

In expectation of invasion, the town decided to put itself in a state of defence. In 1585[3] it was decided that the "chancel on the south side of the church, called St. Clere's chancel or chapel," should be used as the powder store, and in 1587-8 the fourth bell of the church, which was cracked and broken, was taken down and

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[1] Many another town is payrid and y—lassid,
Within these few yeris, as we now see at eye,
Lo, sirs, here fast by Wynchelse and Ry.
The Merchant's Second Tale.

[2] *The Cinque Ports.* F. M. Hueffer.

[3] *MSS. of the Corporation of Rye*, 1585. Ap. 26.

sent to London to be "sold to the best advantage, and the money thereof coming to be employed for the buying of powder, match, and other provision for the town."[1]

Rye sank into a mere trading-town after the Armada. Its prosperity, says Camden, was partly due to the decay of its neighbour, Winchelsea; and owing to the formation of a new haven by the sea (the Wish), "it greatly reflourished with inhabitants, buildings, fishing, and navigation." The complaints of the decay of Rye harbour are, however, soon heard, for the new harbour (the Wish) was afterwards filled in again and the sea walled out.

In 1579 the "decay" of the harbour[2] is mentioned in the MSS. of the Corporation, and the consequent "utter ruen and overthrowe" of the town, in spite of the large sums of money spent upon its repair. The MSS. of the Corporation show traces of vain attempts at remedy, and schemes of an Adryan Skedam in 1570; by De Trente, an Italian, in 1574; by Frederick Jenebill, an Italian, in 1590,[3] ended in disappointment and "false illusions." The harbour was always repairing and never repaired, so that there was some excuse perhaps for the dissatisfaction felt at Rye and for the "lible cast abrode"[4]; later, that the "harbor-makers were brewers, and bakers, shepherds, and silver-candlestick makers, carters, and hogschops" (*sic.*). A century or so after Queen Elizabeth's time, Rye harbour was probably even less deep than it is to-day. Thus it became entirely unfit for men-of-war.

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1 *MSS. of the Corporation of Rye*, 158[7-8], Jan. 22.

2 1579. May 11. Certificate of the mayor and jurats of Rye, that "consideringe the continual decaye of the harbour of Rye to utter ruen and overthrowe of the said toune and having . . . bestowed great somes of money uppon the same," etc.—*Ibid.*

3 1593[4]. Frederick Jenebill (the Italian) hath most treacherously abused this township by his false promising to amend the harbour of Rye, and it is agreed that they will "no further intermeddle with the said Jenebill nor with any of his devices."—*Ibid.*

4 1611. December 30th.—*Ibid.*

Rye contained very much the same crafts and trades as Winchelsea, though not quite in such numbers. Both places at different times had license to export wool, and both places carried on the wine trade. Ships were built in the harbours; they are so still. It possessed a mint, which, until the seventeenth century, struck coins and tokens. In former times Rye was famous for its fishing. "It hath many fishing-vessels, and serveth London and the Court with variety of sea-fish," writes Holland; and Jeake says that it was noted for its fishing, "as good fish having been brought to market as anywhere in England, yet the fish kept the name of the town, as Rye herrings, to sell better in London." The "rippiers" of Rye and Winchelsea were men who carried the fish to London in panniers on horses' backs.

Rye, in the eighteenth century, was not behind Hastings and other Sussex coast towns in respect of smuggling. So ingrained was the habit that John Wesley, who preached there in 1773, wrote in his *Journal* that though the people were "willing to hear the good word," yet they would not "part with the accursed thing, smuggling," so that he feared his labours would be in vain. Again he writes, on another occasion: "How large a society would be here could we but spare them one thing! Nay, but then all our labour would be in vain. One sin allowed would intercept the whole blessing." Even as late as 1826 a smuggling galley, chased by a guard-boat, ran ashore near the mouth of Rye harbour, in May of that year, and opened fire on the guard. "The blockade men from Camber Watch House came to the spot and seized one of the smugglers, when a body of not less than two hundred armed smugglers commenced a fire on the blockade, killing one and wounding another, but were ultimately driven off with the capture of their galley, carrying off, nevertheless, their wounded." [1]

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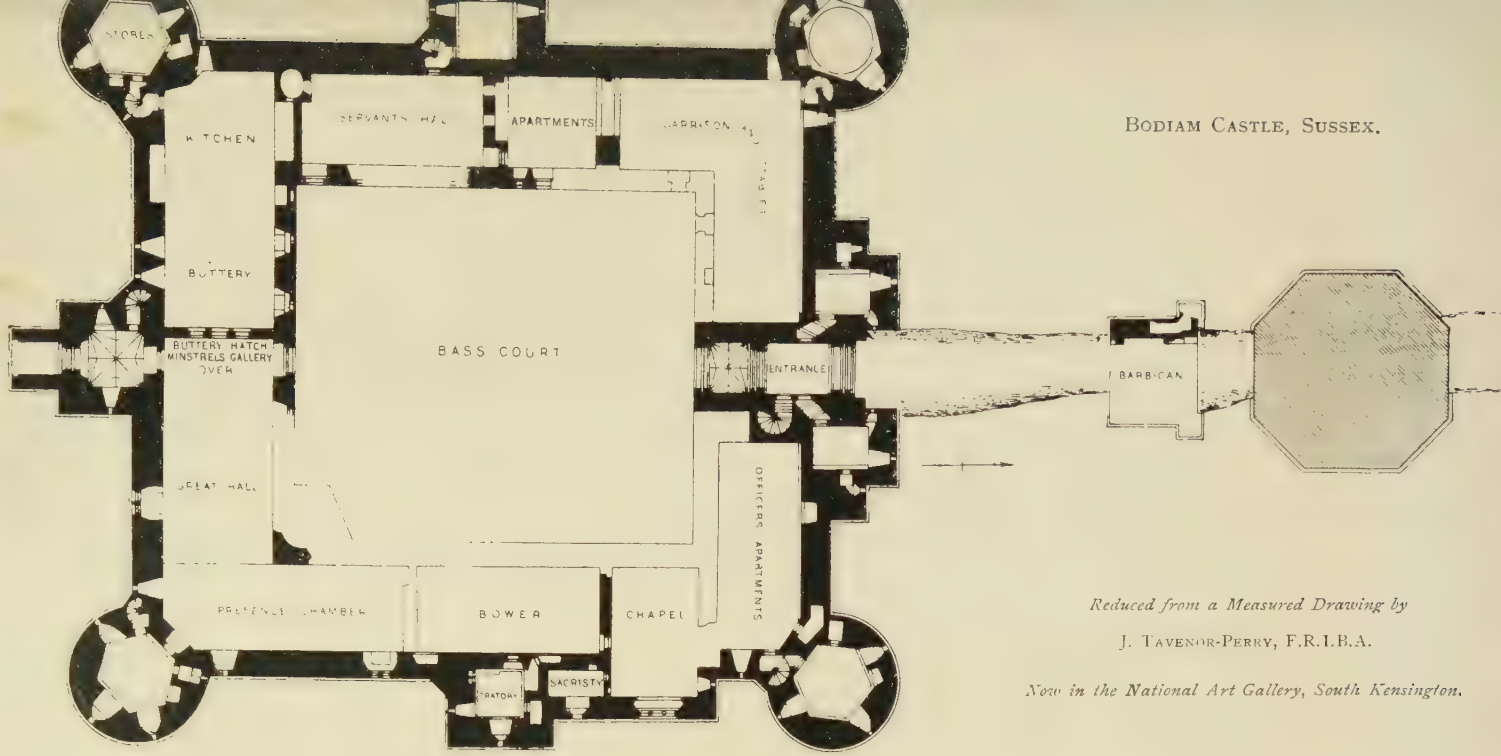
[1] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. x., p. 92.



PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR OF THE CASTLE

BODIAM CASTLE, SUSSEX.

Reduced from a Measured Drawing by

J. TAVENOR-PERRY, F.R.I.B.A.

Now in the National Art Gallery, South Kensington.

Rye, before the Reform Bill, returned two members.[1] At one time there were but nine electors to the two elected! In 1831 it had but twelve voters at the poll. But, as in many towns in England, the people by that time clamoured for votes, and the leaders of the agitation attempted a *coup d'état*. Holloway writes:—

> Only nine months had elapsed since the war of the barricades in Paris. The sight of the coastguards was the signal for the wildest uproar and confusion. The populace infuriated, prepared to arm themselves; and it was but the work of a moment to tear down the iron fence which enclosed the market-house, each palisade of which became a pike in the hands of the man who held it. . . . The people began to pull up the pavement at the end of Market Street, where it joins East Street, and to prepare for barricading it, when the Mayor and his party made their appearance. The night brought no rest, but confusion (if possible) was worse confounded.

The cause of the disturbance was that the electors had been elected freemen by the mayor and jurats, who were all relatives, so that the Corporation consisted of Lambs and their nominees. Shortly afterwards[2] every ratepayer became a freeman, and these stirring times—the last in the history of Rye—were reckoned with the past.

The records of the Corporation of Rye are both interesting in themselves and supplemental to the internal history of the town. The difficulty of getting a sufficient supply of corn at Rye, attempts to suppress pirates, and the "decay" of the harbour, are frequently recurring subjects in the records, while curious details of social life are also preserved. For instance, in 1569 Mercy Poskyns[3] is fined for "keeping Frenchmen, drinking and banketting" in her house. In 1571 "one Mother Margery"[4] was, for certain notorious offences,

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1 Among its representatives was Sir Arthur Wellesley (1802), afterwards Duke of Wellington.

2 After the Reform Bill, Rye returned one member to Parliament; it is now merged into a division of Sussex.

3 April 29th, 1569.

4 October 28th, 1571.

"such as any Christian harte wold abhore to here spoken of much less to be used," driven out of Rye. The mayor caused the almshouse where she lived to be searched, and there was found, among other things, "a good quantitie of rawe beff," to the intent that, as the beef decayed, so the bodies of divers persons against whom she bore malice should also decay. Which things were proved, for one among her victims, "being by her wytch-craft most cruelly tormented in his body, at last hanged himself." Since her banishment the town had not been troubled with the like. May-day observances were kept up perhaps too thoroughly, as in 1574 the mayor and jurats of Rye had to give an order that none of the inhabitants, neither young nor old, shall on the morning of any day array out of the town with drums, flags, or otherwise, into the woods of any man to cut down any "bowes" without leave of the owners. The plague was another of the difficulties Rye had to contend with; its visitations no doubt the combined result of the adjoining marshes and the seafaring population crowded together in its narrow streets. The plague seems to have been at its worst in the sixteenth century. In 1544 it carried off 385 people in six months; in 1579, 744 in five months. It came again in 1590 and in 1596, and these were not the only visitations during the century. On September 23rd, 1579, there is an order for the preservation of the town of Rye from the plague, among whose sanitary provisions we find that "all dogs were to be kept in and all curs to be killed out of hand, and whoever shall find any dogs in the streets to kill them." The town does not appear to have been too clean. In 1658 the number of hogs owned by the inhabitants and wandering abroad in the town was stated to be thirty-six, in consequence of which the fines for the owners of wandering hogs were raised from one to five shillings.

Another difficulty dealt with by the Corporation was the number of foreign incomers "flying to Rye for succour."

The importance of Rye as a port of communication with France down to the time of Charles I. seems difficult to realise; but the state of the roads in both countries rendered it important to choose the shortest *land* journey between the two capitals, while the lengthened sea voyage from Rye to Dieppe was thought of less importance. In consequence, there was always a considerable number of "strangers" in the town, sometimes French, sometimes Dutch, sometimes prisoners of war, sometimes fishermen taken by the Rye cruisers when caught fishing on the English coast.[1]

Besides this "floating population," there was a great influx of Protestants from France to Rye at the four great periods of their immigration.[2] The Huguenots came during the first religious civil war in France in 1562, during the third civil war in 1568, after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572,[3] and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Jeake says that in 1582 there were 1,534 French refugees in Rye. Perhaps they were not entirely welcome. In 1571 the Lords of the Council write to the mayor, etc., of Rye that besides the "great multitude of good, honest, and devoute poore and afflicted people, there are also another

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1 In a paper in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, Mr. F. A. Inderwick gives some particulars of the prisoners at Rye during the Commonwealth. The foreign fishermen caught fishing on the English coast were usually well treated by the Commonwealth, "being allowed, in consideration of their poverty, a payment of 6d. per diem for their maintenance, and being sent back to Dieppe at the earliest opportunity. For the prisoners of war I find that in 1650 £20 was sent from London towards their maintenance and despatch; that in 1653 there were at least eighty French prisoners at Rye, with regard to whom orders had to be made, also many Dutchmen (*State Papers*, November, 1653); that in 1658 there were many Dutchmen in prison."—*Rye Under the Commonwealth*, F. A. Inderwick. A paper read at Rye, 1892.

2 A list of those who fled to Rye and were resident there in 1569 has been preserved among the Cotton MSS., and is printed entire in "The Protestant Refugees in Sussex," by W. D. Cope, F.S.A., *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xiii.

3 At Rye, on 27th August, 1572, three days after the massacre, the first portion had arrived, and when a return was made on 4th November, 641 persons had entered the port.

nombre of evill disposed people under colour of religion and pietie lately entred at sondry portes and crekes into the realme," and that by the excess of both sorts the nation may sustain harm. The Queen's will is that in no city or town there should be any great number of strangers, "thoughe they be of honest conversation." So a "good and certain serche" is to be made into the number of the strangers and their means of livelihood.[1] In 1575-6 there are complaints by the "cordiners or shoemakers" in Rye that their trade decreases owing to the foreign "incomers," and the "French and other foreign strangers flying to the said town for succour" and using the same occupation.[2]

A few years earlier[3] it is stated that "great nombres of the French, being very poore people, both men, women, and children, have been brought over, and to the great crye and grieff of the inhabitants of Rye"; from which it appears that the industrious alien has always been a stumbling-block; and the same grief, it is curious to find, is given in a report to the Council of State, dated 1651, when the multiplication of strangers and the superabundance of beerhouses are said to be the chief causes of injuries to the trade of the ancient town.

The last immigration of Huguenots,[4] that shortly before and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, appears to have been well received at Rye. In July, 1681, a collection was made for their relief and facilities given for their naturalisation, while the vicar and the chief

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1 *MSS. of the Corporation of Rye.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, 1573[4], February.

4 The number of French Protestants at Rye varied considerably. Jeake estimates them to be 1,534 in 1582; but in 1590 the congregation had so fallen off that at the "Colloque" at Canterbury M. Morel, their minister, reported that he must leave for want of means for the support of himself and his family. (From about 1598 to 1666 they had little to suffer in France.) In 1622 there is a very meagre return of French Protestants from Rye. From 1666 a fresh emigration began from France to England, and went on for fifty years.

The Ypres Tower, Rye.

inhabitants of Rye gave them (in 1682) the following testimonial:—

> These are to certifie all whom it may concerne, that the French Protestants that are settled inhabitants of this toune of Rye, are a sober, harmless, innocent people, such as serve God constantly and uniformly according to the usage and custome of the Church of England.

They were also, by the consent of the principal inhabitants of the town (1682), allowed to "continue their assemblys" in the parish church at stated times. At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many more refugees joined those who had taken sanctuary in Rye at an earlier date. We have no list preserved of these, but the registers furnish us with the names of many of the settlers.

The oldest building in Rye, the Ypres tower, which was erected in Stephen's reign, at the south-east angle of the town on a steep cliff, is plain and square, with four round angle-towers. "It lies heavy on the face of the earth, as did the hand of the Norman that built it." The William de Ypres who built it probably had designs of establishing himself there, but he became a monk, and the tower, after it had been in the possession of the town for some time, was sold to a certain John de Ypres, who probably derived his name from it. After passing through many hands, it was bought in 1494 by the Corporation. It has passed through various stages—at one time a court-house, at another a gaol, and, later, "an appendix to a soup-kitchen." It is now in process of becoming a museum of local antiquities.

The Land gate is the sole survivor of Rye's five gates. Leland mentions the fact that the sea washed away some streets, the *Baddyngs* gate, and the wall leading from it to the Land gate—two massive round towers with an archway between. The *Strand* gate has been destroyed in comparatively recent times.[1] Of the town walls, mixed up and incorporated with more modern buildings, hardly any remains can be traced.

[1] 1815.

The parish church has been called the largest parish church in England, "a claim which cannot be allowed." Jeake, writing towards the end of the seventeenth century, describes it as the "goodlest edifice of the kind in Kent and Sussex, the cathedral only excepted."

"Besides the Romanesque in the north transept, the church contains specimens of early Pointed, Perpendicular, and Tudor stonework, and some Jacobean and Georgian woodwork."[1] The clock, the bells of which are struck by a pair of golden cherubs, placed under a canopy on the north side of the tower, is, according to tradition, the gift of Queen Elizabeth after the Armada. Its purchase at an earlier date is, however, mentioned in the accounts of the church. The churchwardens' book has a simple but interesting entry for the year 1547:—

"For cleansing the church from Popery," £1 13s. 4d.

South of the churchyard stands the fourteenth century stone building, supposed to have been the chapel of the Carmelites.[2] That of the Augustine Friars, who settled in Rye before the time of Edward III., stands on the east side of Conduit Hill. Of later date, for it was built in 1636, is the brick-built Peacock's Grammar School,[3] in the High Street, where the boys were taught, besides the three R's, only the art of navigation. In Mermaid Street is a large house, the remains of which testify to the truth of the second Samuel Jeake's assertion that it was once one of the best houses in the town. Nearly opposite is Jeake's storehouse, in the gable front of which were three serpents with their tails in their mouths, now destroyed. On a stone in the wall is engraved a horoscope, showing the aspect of the heavens

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1 F. M. Hueffer.

2 That a religious house of this denomination did exist in Rye we know from the fact that in 1432 Thomas Sackville, Knt., gave 6s. 8d. to the Carmelite Friars of the town.

3 "A famous good school, Pocock's Grammar School at Rye."—*Denis Duval.*

at the time the foundation-stone was laid on June 13th, 1689, as recorded in an inscription in the centre of the horoscope. In his *Diary* he notes that "the foundation-stone was laid precisely at noon under a position of heaven." There is another interesting old house, "The Old Mermaid," in the same street, of which the front has been modernized, and which contains a chimney-piece of the early sixteenth century. The Flushing Inn, at the north-west angle of Market Street and Pump Street, which now consists of two dwellings, is of the Tudor period, while a still older house stands on the west side of West Street.

But the charm of Rye lies not in its few old houses—there is little very old about the place—but in the lines of its cobble-stoned and steep streets; in its general appearance, as of a pyramid of red-tiled roofs capped by its low church tower, and "set like a ruby in the vast green plain"; and the aroma of age and decay; the sense of the passing of its greatness.

COUNTRY LIFE IN THE PAST

By Percy D. Mundy

THERE are few more reliable records on which to base an estimate of the domestic life and manners of any given period than the unstudied and outspoken entries of a diary-writer. Sussex has been particularly favoured, inasmuch as several natives have left behind them diaries which present us with a true picture of the lives of our ancestors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These diaries have been fully transcribed in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, from which the following extracts are made. Of public life and of the doings of the outer world it is true we gain but little knowledge, but touching matters of more homely significance these entries have an unique value, and are evidence of the absolute remoteness of the Sussex villages of that date, and of the small interest aroused in the minds of their inhabitants by wars, and victories, and defeats, occurring but a few hundred miles away. The series of diaries to which we refer commences in 1655, and continues in more or less regular succession down to the year 1770, chronicling in detail the events of more than a century, and that century a troubled period, which saw many changes in social life and conditions. The writers consist of men of all classes, from the squire and parish priest to the humble shop-keeper, and their remarks exhibit well the pursuits, occupations, and general opinions of the various individuals.

The Reverend Giles Moore, Rector of Horsted Keynes, a village situated in the centre of the Weald, commenced his record in 1655, and inscribed the final entry a few weeks previous to his death in October, 1679. Much space is naturally devoted to personal matters, such as comments on the price of articles of daily use, the condition of the crops, and the amount of tithe taken for lands. Here and there, however, are facts of much wider interest. Giles Moore was evidently a man of substance, who lived in comfort if not in luxury. We find him paying £20 16s. 7d. for a "bed with purple rug, curtains, etc.," which he procures from London; the bedding and blankets, and a "fine large coverlett with birds and bucks," being purchased from a Chichester upholsterer, "who comes about the country with his packs on horseback." The rector's household consisted of two servants, a man and a maid, the former receiving £5 a year wages and the latter £3. Both men and maids were occasionally dismissed and their places filled, and neither sex appears to have merited the eulogies invariably bestowed upon the old-time domestic. Certainly their morals were not irreproachable, a fact which sorely troubled their master. Nevertheless, he treated them leniently, and twice was called upon to read the marriage service over his own two servants. On the first occasion he notes the fact that "I marryed Thos. Dumbrell and Mary his wyfe gratis." The second occasion was more auspicious, for we read: "Married Henry Place and Mary Holden, my two servants, and spent at their wedding 20s.; I gave the fiddlers 1s. I also gave them a large cake, all theyr fewell, and the use of my house and stable for two days, with a quart of white wine, being all not less than 40s., or one year's wages."

More irksome than the cost of these occasional festivities must have been the yearly taxes, to which the rector refers. His hearth-tax, payable on eight fire-hearths and the brew-house chimney, amounted to £7 6s.,

exclusive of the house and poll-tax. In the matter of food and drink the Reverend Giles Moore seems to have been very well provided. Many interchanges of presents between himself and his neighbours are noted, such as a gallon of rosewater in exchange for pigeons, or hog's puddings in exchange for pills! In addition, he received constant donations from his parishioners, which must have amply reinforced the larder. Pigs, rabbits, pieces of pork, capons, fat pullets, and bottles of mead, all in turn found their way to the rectory door; and the wine-cellar contained claret, purchased in London at 1s. a bottle, to say nothing of sack and muscadine.

Some small addition to the rector's emoluments must have been derived from the funeral sermons which he preached, and for which he received 10s. from the poor and £2 2s. from his more wealthy neighbours. The payment of these fees, and the instructions regarding such sermons, are frequently set down in wills of this period. We find the rector making handsome presents to his patron, Mr. Michelborne, and on one occasion he presents him with "a faire silver tankard of 38 ozs., which, at 5s. 7d. an oz., came to £10 15s. 7d." A godson also received a silver "caudlecup and cover weighing 24 ozs." The parson paid 6d. an ounce for his tobacco, and it seems that Mrs. Moore also claimed her share, as the following entry occurs: "Tobacco for my wyfe, 3d." Among recreations in vogue card-playing seems to have been common, though the particular game is not signified. Fairs were also occasions of merriment, and St. James' fair at Lindfield was usually celebrated by a dinner to friends. Horsted Keynes also had its own fair, held on the festival of St. Giles, the patron saint of the church.

The rector had probably acquired his taste for "news letters" and "gazettes" on some of his frequent visits to London. The arrival of these news letters was no doubt anxiously awaited, and within a week they

had probably been thumbed by twenty families, to whom they provided topics of conversation for many a day.

The expenses of these visits to London are frequently noted, and on one occasion the rector stayed at the house of "John Moss, the taylor, at the Flower de Luce, in King Streete, to whom I payed for my lodging there one week, 5s. 6d." On each of these visits many books of divinity were purchased for the rectory library. Giles Moore had apparently no affection for lawyers. He says: "He who goes to law, when he can possibly avoid it, is an absolute foole, and one that loveth to be fleeced. I ever got by losing and lost by striving to get."[1] There are several mentions of the local ironworks in the diary. Among others is a notice of the purchase of "an iron plate for my parlour grate, with Mr. Michelbourne's arms upon it"; also "a paier of brasse andirons, a paier of iron dogs with brasse heads, a warming pan, and a latten candlestick for my mayd Mary." Whenever medical advice was required the services of a doctor from Rotherfield, twenty-five miles distant, were requisitioned, for which journey he received the fee of 12s.; and 10s. had to be paid for a clergyman to take the duty of the rector when he was indisposed. Lesser ailments, however, were treated locally by the practice of "bleeding." The following entry appears with reference to the maid: "Payd for opening her vein, 4d." The custom of bleeding in the spring of the year prevailed until well into the nineteenth century, and Sunday morning was generally the time selected by the country folk for the operation.

There is an interesting reference in the diary to an old ceremony known as "Apple Howling," which took place annually on New Year's Eve, when a troop of

1 A long thorny bramble is called a "lawyer" in Sussex, because "when once they gets a holt on ye, ye döant easy get shut of 'em."—*Highways and Byways in Sussex*, by E. V. Lucas.

village lads visited the orchards and, encircling the trees, chanted the following words:—

Stand fast root, bear well top,
Pray the God send us a good howling crop.
Every twig, apples big;
Every bough, apples enou;
Hats full, caps full,
Full quarters sacks full.

At the conclusion a collection was probably made, for the parson, under date 26th December, writes: "I gave the howling boys 6d." It is pleasant to record that this custom still prevails, and at Duncton there is a prosperous band of "wassailers," whose leader has taken part in the ceremony for sixty years.

From the diary of the Rector of Horsted Keynes we pass to that of Squire Stapley, of Hickstead Place, in the parish of Twineham. From this source we glean some curious facts on the subject of education, there being several little Stapleys who had reached an age when it was necessary to begin to master the arts of reading, writing, and casting accounts. Such tuition cost the squire a weekly fee of 6d. (the year is 1731), whilst Anthony Stapley had the advantage of a boarding-school at Brighton for an outlay of £7 6s. 10d. per annum. The Stapleys kept a larger household than that of Giles Moore. It consisted of three men and three maids, but although seventy years have elapsed wages have increased little, the average payments being: for a man, £6 10s.; for a maid, £2 10s. That the squire was a good sportsman is proved by his frequent mention of dogs, hawks, and guns, and we find him paying "to William Ashford for two beagles, which make my cry complete, £4 15s." On October 5th, 1739, he sadly records the presence of a mad dog in his kennels, which necessitated the slaughter of all his hounds. "Six of them," he says, "were all hanging at the same time." His hawks cost him £2, and the payments for a horse

vary from £5 to £15. The squire of Hickstead, like many of his class, doubtless led a jovial life. He probably dined at two o'clock and supped at half-past seven. He hunted, and shot, and hawked, and played cards.

Dr. Burton's[1] general remarks on the gentlemen of Sussex were not complimentary. He describes them as "remarkable for the awkward prodigality and sordid luxury of their feasts, the inelegant roughness and dull hilarity of their conversation." It must be remembered, however, that this learned Oxford bookworm was no sportsman, and the men he encountered on his travels paid scanty tribute to his Greek and Latin, esteeming him none the more for his contempt of their position, which he describes as "stuck and buried in that irresistible Sussex mud."

Sussex roads were execrable—there is ample evidence of the fact—hence arose the fancy that the women and cattle of the county were long-legged, "owing to the difficulty of pulling the feet out of so much mud." De Foe saw, not far from Lewes, "an ancient lady—and a lady of very good quality, I assure you—drawn to church in her coach by six oxen . . . the way being so stiff and deep that no horse could go in it." Judith, widow of Sir Richard Shirley, desired in her will to be buried at Preston, "if she should die at such a time of the year as the roads thereto are passable, else where her executors should think fit." Even up to the middle of the seventeenth century the Shoreham to London coach made use of a pair of oxen to drag it over some of the worst stretches of the road. These difficulties of communication, which pertained from the earliest period of history, rendered Sussex as a county singularly remote, and removed from external civilizing influences. Sir John Pelham, writing to Charles Montague,

1 *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. viii., pp. 250-265.

afterwards Earl of Halifax, under date "Nov. ye 2d, 1700," says:

> We are here in a barren part of England for husbands, which you may judge by there not being any proposal made for one who I think deserves very well. If you meet with any that you judge fitt for her, tho' the fortune be but moderate, you would by it ad one more to your many kind and gracious actions.

The writer is referring to his granddaughter Lucy, then aged twenty-two, who subsequently married John Morley Trevor, of Glynde Place.

Thomas Marchant, of Hurst, was a yeoman of somewhat smaller pretentions than the owner of Hickstead, although related to many good old county families. His diary contains mainly references to his stock-breeding, his purchases, and the fatting of his pigs. Among other items, he refers to a cricket-match in 1717, the erection of a "singing gallery" in the parish church, and the advent of a dancing master; and he is mightily proud of a recent acquisition, which he describes as "a case to carry pen and ink and sand." All the Sussex diaries are striking evidence of the absence of social distinctions, and the prevailing friendly intercourse between all classes. Marchant, although only a yeoman farmer, and at one time steward to the Duke of Somerset at Petworth, mixed on terms of equality with the landed gentry, supping and dining with them constantly. At Danny he records having "staid late and drunk too much," a confession which the next diarist, a general dealer and undertaker of East Hoathly, has only too frequently to make. Thomas Turner commenced his diary on February 8th, 1754, and the opening pages contain many valiant resolutions, among which he declares his intention "never to drink more than four glasses of strong beer—one to drink the King's health, the second to the Royal Family, the third to all friends, and the fourth to the pleasure of the company." Added to this the worthy dealer determines "always to go to

bed at or before ten o'clock." Alas for his strength of mind! These good resolutions soon faded away, and we very soon find him regarding with shame the events of a certain evening when he "drank one bowl of punch and two mugs of bumboo, and I came home again in liquor." As some small excuse for these libations, it must be stated that Mr. Turner had a mother-in-law who was "a very Xantippe . . . with a great volubility of tongue . . . especially if I am the subject." However, the diary gives us many interesting particulars of home life, and there is a pleasant picture of the family dinner, consisting of "a piece of boiled beef and carrots, and currant suet pudding," to which the master, his wife, the maid, and the two shop-boys sit down together in true old-fashioned style. Among the evening recreations, whist and brag are mentioned; but less sober entertainments were frequent, in which the assembled company indulge in behaviour which was "far from that of serious, harmless mirth; it was downright obstreperous, mixed with a great deal of folly and stupidity." Turner and his wife seem to have participated in many such jollifications. Once they "supped with Mr. Fuller's, and spent the evening with a great deal of mirth till between one and two," when "Tho. Fuller," adds the diarist, "brought my wife home upon his back"; a further tribute, possibly, to the bad condition of the roads—or of the lady! Another time—evidently Mr. Fuller was a genial host—supper concluded, the company "fell to drinking like horses, as the vulgar phrase is, and singing till many of us were very drunk, and then we went to dancing and pulling of wigs, caps, and hats; and thus we continued in the frantic manner, behaving more like mad people than they that professed the name of Christian." The parish priest, sad to relate, played his full part in these proceedings, and although we are told he could preach a good sermon against swearing, seems to have been somewhat backward in practice. He

was evidently of a type familiar to us in the pages of Fielding, and bore some resemblance to Parson Trulliber —more at home in the hog-stye than in the pulpit. Manners and morals were undoubtedly very gross. Cock-fighting was the favourite amusement. Mention is made of "a main of cocks between the gentlemen of Hothly and Pevensey"; "vollies of execrable oaths oftentimes resounded from almost all parts of the room" at the vestry meeting; and a young man's conversation is described as "one continual flow of oathes, almost without intermission." And yet, withall, a taste for literature had penetrated to the remote village of East Hoathly. Thomas Turner's wife read to him "that moving scene of the funeral of Miss Clarissa Harlowe," and the little tradesman himself, in the interval of buying and selling and drinking too much, found time to read Gray's Poems, *Paradise Lost and Regained*, *Othello*, Thompson's *Seasons*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, *Peregrine Pickle*, and several other volumes, all within the space of six weeks. When Thomas Turner had the misfortune to lose his first wife, "dear Peggy," who, we may be quite sure, knew nothing of the diary, he decided that it would be of advantage, both to himself and to the community, to seek another spouse. So he determines to replace the incomparable one by Molly Hicks, a young lady "who comes of respectable parents, and may perhaps, one time or other, have some fortune." As far as appearances went, the second Mrs. Turner was evidently no beauty, for her suitor not very gallantly remarks: "As for her person I know it's plain (so is my own), but she is cleanly in her person and dress, which I will say is something, more than at first sight it may appear to be, towards happiness."

The "Journal and Account Book" of Timothy Burrell, dating from 1683 to 1714, differed from all those previously referred to by reason of the quaint illustrations on the margin, which included a sketch of

the artist's home, likenesses of his servants, and representations of the various objects mentioned, such as rakes, fiddles, pigs, cows, etc. Timothy Burrell was born in 1643, being six years of age at the time of the execution of Charles I., and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar, and was generally known among his friends as "Counsellor Burrell." He was thrice married, and left, by his third wife, an only daughter, who married Thomas, Lord Trevor, and became the ancestress of the Dukes of Marlborough. The diary, which was kept at Ockenden House, Cuckfield, contains, largely, notices of payments and sales, but here and there are such entries as the following: "My sister quarrelled with me, and was insolent to me, and I was somewhat, not to say too much, irritated with her"; or, again: "I was rather too impatient with my servant for having put too much salt in my broth." At Christmas, Timothy Burrell always gave a feast to his poorer neighbours—a custom mentioned by a more famous diarist, John Evelyn—and among the good fare provided, "plum pottage" and "minced pies" figure prominently.

The Counsellor, like many of the other diarists, records frequent presents from neighbours, perhaps, in his case, in return for legal advice. The Shelleys, the Gorings, and the Sergisons, not to mention others, kept him well supplied with trout, carp, turkey-cocks, kegs of sturgeon, and bottles of usquebaugh. An interesting subject is touched in connection with his visits to relations, and the "vails" which custom demanded should be distributed on such an occasion. The following is a list of payments:—

Mr. Johnson, 10s. 9d.; chambermayd, 10s.; cook, 10s.; coachman, 5s.; butler, 5s.; chief gardener, 5s.; under-cook, 2s. 6d.; boy, 2s. 6d.; under-gardener, 2s. 6d.; nurse, 2s. 6d.; total, £3 0s. 9d.

One more Sussex diary has come to light, and will be found fully transcribed in the *Sussex Archæological*

Collections, viz., the record of Walter Gale, an eighteenth century schoolmaster of Mayfield, and a contemporary of Thomas Turner. It would not be expected that a very accomplished scholar could be obtained for the salary of £16 a year, nor was the schoolmaster efficient in any respect, although elected by the vicar and chief inhabitants of the place. His supposed qualifications, as set down in the parish books, were that he was—

> a member of the Church of England, of known affection to the present establishment in church and state, understanding the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, of sober life and conversation, of a meek and humble behaviour, having a good government over himself and his passions, a frequenter of the holy communion, possessing a genius for teaching, writing a good hand, and understanding arithmetic well.

Unfortunately, Gale, as his diary shows, had far too great a fondness for elderberry wine and quarterns of gin, and beyond the purchasing of *Pamela* he does not evince any great affection for books. He had started life as an "officer of excise," and had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune.

In addition to his scholastic duties, Walter Gale undertook such various occupations as painting inn-signs, engraving tombstones, surveying land, measuring hop-gardens, making wills, and even designing needlework. In his diary he makes frequent mention of "drawing waistcoats and neckerchiefs." After "five days' close application," he received 10s. 6d. for "drawing the quilt belonging to Mr. Goodman," and the following entry, relating to a class of work in vogue at the period, is of interest:—

> I finished diamonding two heel-bands and three hindquarter pieces of a pair of shoes for Squire Baker's lady.

The schoolmaster likewise painted the "Commandments" on the walls of the church, for which he was paid two guineas. His scholastic rule was never very

peaceful, and he and the parishioners took part in frequent altercations, one John Kent declaring (as the diary states) that

> I [Walter Gale] spent my time in reading printed papers, to the neglect of the children; and that I was covetous . . . that the children did not improve, and that he would get an old woman for 2d. a week that would teach them better.

On October 18th, 1771, the schoolmaster was "removed from the school for neglecting the duties thereof," and the only thing that can be said in his favour is that we should never have known of his shortcomings had he not left behind him such an outspoken record of them.

MURAL PAINTINGS IN SUSSEX CHURCHES

By Philip Mainwaring Johnston,
F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

FEW, if any, of the counties of England can have been richer in mural paintings than Sussex. Kent, Surrey, and Hampshire are close rivals, but for the extent, antiquity, and interest of this mode of decoration in churches most other counties cannot compare.

The reason for this is not far to seek. Building-stone was scarce and not too good; roads were notoriously bad, so much so that the famous oolite was imported in barges from Caen on the opposite coast as both cheaper and far better than local stones. Wherefore stone was always used sparingly, and the money that would elsewhere have gone to the masons was applied in decorating great wall-spaces with schemes of painted imagery. It is true we do not find this painting applied to timber screens and roofs, as, for instance, with such fine effect, in the grand Perpendicular churches of the Eastern Counties. With the exception of a notable group of early screens, Sussex has not much to boast of in these two items. Artistic skill seems therefore to have been concentrated upon the painting of walls, and such painting was often, perhaps usually, applied also to the internal stonework of windows, doors, arcades, and other features.

The writer, besides having the good fortune to uncover and preserve a number of these ancient paintings in Sussex churches, collaborated some years ago with other members of a sub-committee appointed by the council of the Sussex Archæological Society in drawing up a list of the existing and destroyed wall-paintings of the county, including the few that have come to light in secular buildings of old date. This sub-committee published, in vol. xliii. of the Society's *Collections*, as the first-fruits of their investigations, a "List of Mural Paintings in Sussex Churches," with coloured and other illustrations, in which, under an alphabetical arrangement, every known find of ancient wall-paintings, preserved or no longer existing, was placed on record. Since the issue of this list in 1900, one or two notable finds have been made, as, *e.g.*, at Trotton, and a remarkable semi-religious painting in a house at Rye. Unhappily, also, an entire series has since that date been practically destroyed by fire—the well-known thirteenth century paintings in Preston church, near Brighton. For detailed information, reference may be made to this list. It will be more to the purpose in the present article, rather than giving another alphabetical list, to deal with some of the more prominent examples in order of date.

Of the pre-Conquest period, one would scarcely expect to find any remains of paintings. Nevertheless, in a consecration cross at Ford, and in some figures under a sort of canopy on the north wall of the chancel at Eastergate, we may, not impossibly, have remains of paintings dating from the first half of the eleventh century. To uncover the former the writer had to remove several layers of later painting, and that next above the cross was of twelfth century date.[1] The cross is

1 In another place this twelfth century decoration still showed *pencil setting-out lines*, a noteworthy fact not observed elsewhere, so far as the writer is aware.—*Vide Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xliii.

painted in some very hard medium, with a slight glaze, in a red-brown on a pale yellow ground, enclosed within a quatrefoiled circle. Lest this should be objected to as evidencing a later date, it should be borne in mind that the Saxon illuminators, who probably also painted the walls of their churches, have left us numerous instances of the quatrefoil, and even of the cross within a quatrefoil, as in Caedmon's "Paraphrase."[1]

Next in date to these fragments may be placed another in the little semi-ruinous church of Elsted, north-west Sussex, brought to light by the writer a few years ago, before the nave was, unhappily, deprived of its roof. This consisted of a frieze below the wall-plate at the north-east angle, the design being a simple chevron pattern in double white lines upon a red ground, with white pellets in the interspaces.

These, after all, are but fragments, to which might be added a few others of slight character, such as a tiny consecration cross in red on the lower part of the northern jamb of the chancel-arch (eleventh century) at Lyminster.[2]

While speaking of consecration crosses, the following examples may be noticed, most of which are still existing. That at Ford, before mentioned, is the earliest. At Amberley are two very perfect examples of late eleventh century date. Clymping has one of about 1170 in its beautiful tower. Slightly later were those found at Poling and Slindon, in the same locality. The bishop's private chapel at Chichester—a beautiful example of the earliest period of Pointed architecture—has one or two of its original consecration crosses in colour. Treyford's ruined church, of slightly later date, *circa* 1210, has one

1 The quatrefoil as a decorative feature, needless to say, is found long before its structural use in the thirteenth century. It occurs in Norman work of various dates.

2 In this connection may be mentioned a piece of very early painting, on the soffit of an arch, itself probably dating from before 1100, in the north wall of the nave of Aldingbourne church. This has been described and illustrated by the writer in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xlix.

on the north wall of the chancel. The writer has uncovered another at Warminghurst, dating from about 1230. Pevensey had an elaborately floriated cross in its northern chapel, which unavoidably perished at the restoration. At Trotton the writer found traces of three crosses on the west wall, and of others elsewhere; one in perfect preservation within the internal arch of the west door, and another, to the right, beneath a later painting. These mark the rebuilding of the church in

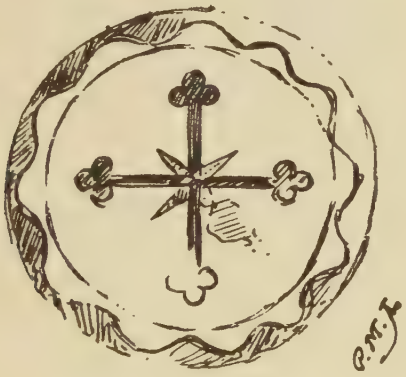


FIG. 1.

circa 1290. About a century later, when Arundel church was rebuilt, each bay of the nave seems to have had its consecration cross of simple pâtée design in red colour.

To resume the chronological order, the peculiar glory of Sussex lay in its possession of a group of early twelfth century paintings, of perhaps unrivalled archæological value taken together. These are practically proved to have been executed by the Lewes Priory school of painters, the churches in which they occur having come into the possession of that wealthy foundation before or soon after A.D. 1100. Like so much of the architectural

remains of the famous Cluniac church itself, these paintings show irrefutable evidence of foreign workmanship, and there is little doubt that a band of Burgundian artists were kept at work by the monks of Lewes on the decoration of the churches in their gift. Doubtless, also, the great priory church itself was similarly ornamented, and a few fragments of the painted plaster, as well as masonry patterns upon the stonework, came to light during the excavations lately carried out by the Sussex Archæological Society.

The "Lewes group" of wall-paintings is, or was, as follows: Hardham, Clayton, Keymer, Plumpton, and Westmeston. If we knew more about them, it is possible that the destroyed paintings at Maresfield and Slaugham might be added to the list. It is noteworthy that in all these cases the elaborate scheme of painting was applied to the walls of small, aisleless churches of the plainest type, some of which—Clayton, for example—are unquestionably of pre-Conquest date. All but the two first-named were destroyed at or soon after the several restorations or rebuildings in the latter part of the nineteenth century; but in the case of Keymer tracings were made, and of Plumpton and Westmeston illustrated descriptions were published in the *Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society*. We have in these sufficient evidence to enable us to range them with the series happily still remaining at Hardham and Clayton. The space at my disposal will only admit of a complete account of the former.

The Hardham paintings have been fully described by the writer,[1] who took steps to arrest their decay, and made tracings and copies of the most valuable parts. The accompanying illustration is reproduced from a coloured plate, reduced by photography from tracings made on the spot, so as to ensure absolute

[1] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xliv., and *Archæological Journal*, vol. li.

accuracy; and from this it is easy to form some idea of the rich effect originally of this little interior, with every wall ablaze with bright colours. The figure-drawing is, of course, crude and barbaric, and it is easy to criticize it harshly from a purist or modern standpoint; but regarded from the point of view of *pictures telling a story*, this *Biblia pauperum* and Golden Legend in one must be admitted to have fulfilled its art-function admirably; and, merely regarded as a colour-scheme, it is one of the finest things of its kind left in England. One of the most interesting features is the title in white Roman lettering—in the form of a Leonine hexameter—over each picture.

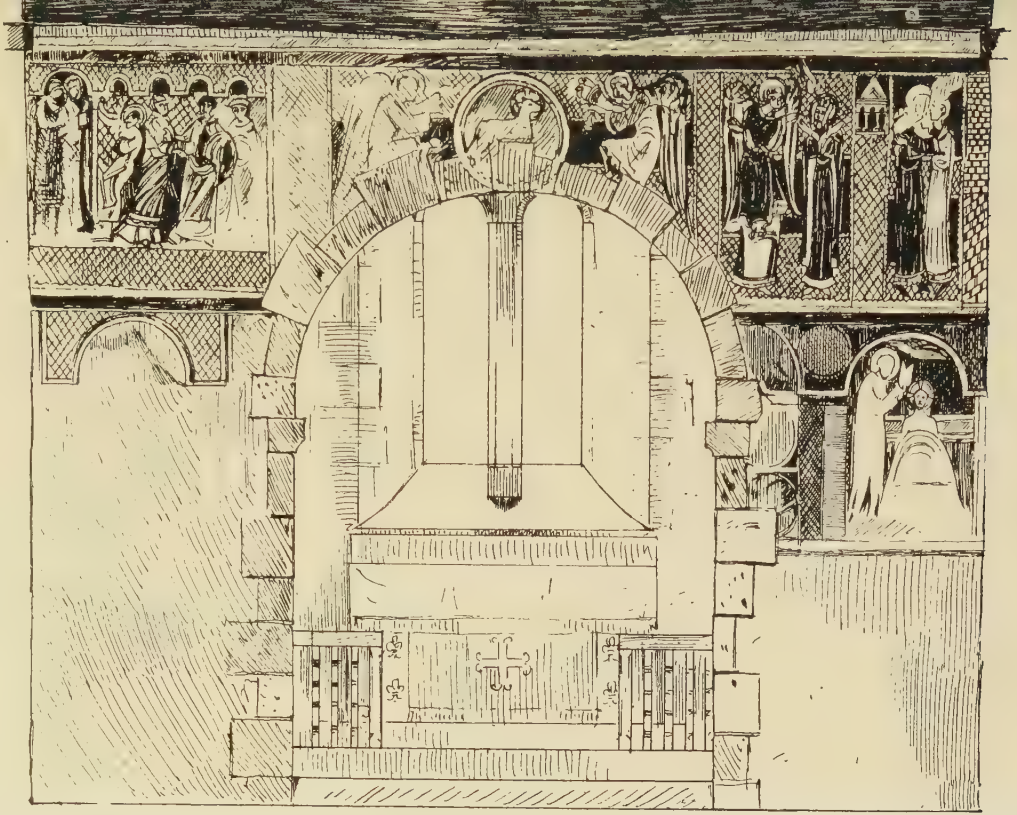
The tiny building consists of a nave, 31 ft. 6 ins. by 19 ft.; a chancel, 17 ft. by 15 ft. 6 ins.; with a modern porch and a bell-turret over the eastern gable of the nave. The writer unblocked an anchorite's squint on the south side of the chancel, proving the existence in that position of the cell of "the recluse of Heringham" (Hardham), mentioned in the will of St. Richard of Chichester. This cell, which was probably a light erection of timber or wattles, was most likely a thirteenth century addition, the church itself dating from 1050 to 1100. The paintings are undoubtedly not much later than the latter year.

The range of colours employed is exceptional: a deep Indian red; a rich yellow-ochre; pink, in several shades; brown umber (chiefly in outlines of features and nimbuses); cream and white (the latter for heightening outlines, features, and hands; for folds and details of costume; lettering of inscriptions over the subjects; and for borders and divisions of the paintings); a brilliant emerald green, for some of the nimbuses and for touches on the dresses, etc.; cobalt blue and tomato-red—the two last apparently only in one of the paintings.

As in the case of all the paintings of this Lewes school, and in others of twelfth and thirteenth century

date, the subjects here are arranged in two tiers, and while the upper tier in the nave is occupied with the Incarnation and Infancy of our Blessed Lord, the lower is taken up with the Parable of Dives and Lazarus (south side) and the legend of St. George (north side), the west wall being devoted to the Torments of Hell. The chancel carries on the story of Redemption. Back to back with the Annunciation on the southern side of the chancel-arch (west face) appears (on the eastern face) the Fall of Man—the disobedience of Eve being intentionally contrasted with the submission of the Handmaid of the Lord. Beneath the Fall is the scene of the Expulsion. The northern side of this east face of the chancel-arch shows Adam engaged in tilling the ground, and Eve milking a strange-looking cow. On the north and south walls (lower tier) the events in the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of our Lord are depicted, beginning on the north with the Last Supper. Above are painted, on the western half of both walls, figures of saints under canopies, probably intended for the prophets of the Old Dispensation and the apostles of the New; while to the eastward begins the grand vision from the Apocalypse of the Worship in Heaven—the "Four-and-twenty Elders" falling down before the Throne, having in their hands the "golden vials, full of odours" and *cithara*, the Vulgate equivalent of our "harps"—*i.e.*, gitterns, with three strings. They are "clothed in white raiment," some having a little dark red by way of relief, and have curious square crowns upon their heads, resembling the paper cap that used to be worn by carpenters when at work. The vials (*phials*) of the Elders on the north are like the metal flower-vases in common use on our altars to-day; while those on the south are shaped like an old-fashioned wine-glass, with a long stem and a broad foot.

On the east wall, broken up by a large thirteenth century window, are the remains of the great central



Inches 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.

[*P. M. Johnston, mens. & del.*

HARDHAM CHURCH: PAINTINGS ON EAST WALL OF NAVE.

subject. The Lamb in the midst of the Throne has been destroyed by the insertion of the window, but of the Four Living Creatures parts of two remain—that on the right of the window representing the one with the "face as a man," and its companion on the left "the second, like a calf," leaving the inner places next the throne to the lion-like creature and the "flying eagle." The "six wings about him" and the halo are visible in the right-hand creature.

I have dealt somewhat in detail with this part of the scheme, as we have so very few examples of the subject remaining in England in sculpture or wall-paintings, and none, it may be confidently affirmed, of so early a date as these.[1]

Of the paintings in the nave, the best preserved is the Annunciation. On the left is the Archangel Gabriel, the forefinger of his right hand emphasising the message he is delivering to the Blessed Virgin. His arms are crossed over his body to enable him to do this, and in his left hand is a lily-sceptre.[2] The Virgin, over whom the Holy Dove is hovering, spreads out her hands in the Eastern attitude of prayer. She wears a curious three-lobed crown, or tiara, of Byzantine character, from which depends a veil. The nimbus of both figures is of an irregular oval shape and a brilliant emerald-green colour, outlined in white and brown—in these particulars exactly resembling the nimbuses on some of the destroyed figures at Westmeston and Plumpton. The dresses consist of a long tunic of a deep red colour; that of the Virgin close-fitting, while the angel's is fuller from the waist and shorter, displaying an under tunic, or alb,

1 In illuminated MSS., in the British Museum and elsewhere, there are a good many early paintings of the visions in the Apocalypse, some of which compare very interestingly with these: and abroad—as in paintings in the church at Vic, Indre-et-Loire (*circa* 1080-1100)—the subject is not so uncommon.

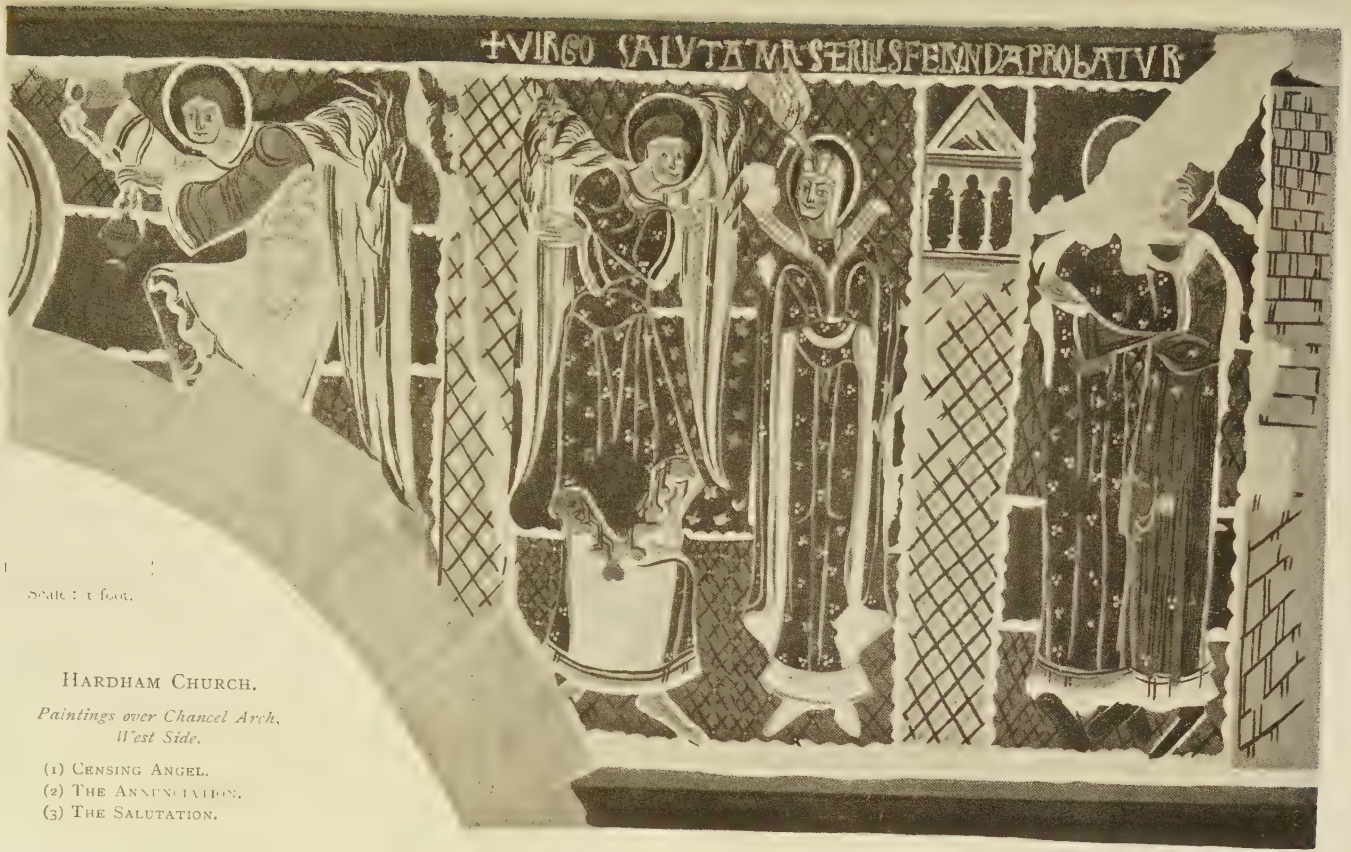
2 Depicted as though carved in ivory, with a jewelled boss. The lily-sceptre is a traditional adjunct in paintings of the Annunciation, as the wand or staff-of-office of the announcing angel.

of white. The tunic of the Virgin is edged with a broad band of white above the feet, which have pointed white shoes. Those of Gabriel are bare. Over the Virgin's shoulders falls a mantle of the same chocolate-red as the tunic, but lined with white, which shows up the figure in strong relief.

The sleeves of both are short and bell-mouthed, those of the Virgin having a white lining, while the messenger's are lined with emerald green. The drapery folds are drawn very stiffly in a pinkish-brown body-colour over the dark red, and the dresses in this and other subjects are powdered with groups of three little white pellets, a form of ornament which occurred at Plumpton, Westmeston, etc., where also the drapery folds were similarly treated. Among other peculiarities are the wavy feathering of the angels' wings, the style of the hair—parted in the middle—the curiously wooden expression of the faces, and the oblique setting of the eyes, in which the iris is light brown with a dark pupil, represented by a stroke instead of a dot, which gives them the appearance of a cat's eye.

The dove hovering above the Virgin's head is delicately painted in a cream-white, with pale-brown outlines and a pink beak, the little eye being minutely drawn, as are the crimson markings round the throat and the black dappling of the wings.

Both figures stand upon a golden pavement, represented by a diaper pattern in red upon a rich yellow ground, and the same yellow, with a different pattern (diamond scale-work, having a red line and white dot through the centre of each scale), forms the "wall" behind the upper part of their bodies. Beneath is a dado of red, edged with a white scalloped border, and upon this the artist has smeared with a wet brush some rude crosses and fleurs-de-lys. On the left of the Archangel is a trellis border, formed by red lines on a pink ground, in the centre of each diamond being a



Scale : 1 foot.

HARDHAM CHURCH.

Paintings over Chancel Arch, West Side.

(1) CENSING ANGEL.
(2) THE ANNUNCIATION.
(3) THE SALUTATION.

white star; and beyond, on the left again, occupying the space over the centre of the chancel-arch, are censing angels, in a kneeling attitude, facing each other, with a circle between them, which probably originally enclosed a cross or the Agnus Dei.[1]

On the right of the Annunciation is the Salutation, the subjects being separated by a remarkable tower, perhaps intended for the Virgin's house. The lower part is painted in a trellis pattern of red lines, recrossed with pink, on a cream ground, the edges bordered with scalloped lines of white. These borders, which are about an inch wide, are used throughout the paintings to mark off the subjects and give emphasis to important parts. In the case of this tower they run up on either side from bottom to top, giving, at a distance, the effect of pinnacles to the angles of the roof. The latter is conical, and shaded in alternating lines of red, white, and pink, to represent pantiles; below is a moulded cornice, surmounting an arcade of tiny horse-shoe arches, resting on slender white shafts against a red ground. This peculiar detail occurs at Clayton, and was found also at Plumpton and Westmeston; and a close inspection shows its true *earliness*.[2] To the right of this tower are the figures of Mary and Elizabeth embracing, their faces unfortunately destroyed by an old settlement in the wall. The dresses and other details resemble those in the adjoining subject. On the right again is a pink wall, with diminutive "stoning," intended for Elizabeth's house.

It is above these two subjects that the most perfect of the Leonine hexameters before referred to occurs. Painted in white Roman letters, with some curious

1 The cross is found in some similar French examples, but also the Holy Lamb, and at Westmeston, in the same position, the Agnus Dei was found.

2 The little arches and capitals, viewed from a distance, give the effect of trefoil-headed arches, and have sometimes been so described—erroneously.

contractions, it reads: ✠ VIRGO SALVTATVR · STERILIS FECVNDA PROƀATVR · Besides the contractions, which make this inscription somewhat hard to decipher, it should be noted that the C in *fecunda* is of the early square form, like a Roman E with the tongue omitted, which is rarely found after the eleventh century. The minuscule ƀ in the last word, and the tall serpentine S in others, are also noteworthy. Exactly similar lettering, with the same peculiarities, was found at Westmeston, and in the one remaining word MIhAEL (Michael), over the archangel of that name at Plumpton. At Westmeston the text-strips were counter-changed red and yellow, the white lettering falling equally on both.

Doubtless the Hardham artist's intention was to inscribe a Leonine verse over each subject, but it is difficult now to say whether he did so in every case, as although remains of lettering can be traced on several strips, others appear to be quite plain, whereas at Westmeston every picture had its descriptive hexameter. The only other inscription that can be read at Hardham appears over the representation of Lazarus being carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom, in the lower tier of the south wall of the nave, where the words PAVPER ObIIT are found.

It must suffice here merely to give a list of the other remaining subjects at Hardham, with a few brief notes, premising that many of them are very fragmentary, and that those in brackets can only be inferred to have existed when the scheme was perfect.

NAVE.

EAST WALL.

Over chancel-arch: Veneration of the Cross, with censing angels.

Chancel-arch soffit: [The Signs of the Zodiac].

Bordering the arch: Occupations of the Months (fragments only remaining).

SOUTH FLANK OF ARCH.

Upper tier: THE ANNUNCIATION and THE SALUTATION.
Lower tier: THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.—Christ is standing up to the arm-pits in a dome-shaped fountain of water. On the left, John the Baptist, in hairy mantle, baptizing, and the Holy Ghost descending as a Dove upon Christ.

SOUTH WALL, EAST TO WEST.

Upper tier.

THE NATIVITY, with THE VISIT OF THE SHEPHERDS.—The Blessed Virgin reposes upon a couch, with a red coverlet spotted with white pellets, her head resting upon an embroidered pillow; at her feet Joseph is seated, in an attitude of contemplation, partly covered by the folds of a curtain which is draped above and around the bed. Beyond, with a domed roof, diagonally striped piers and other peculiar architectural details, is seen the stable of the inn, the ox and ass gazing at the Child, which is swaddled and lying in the manger. The entrance to the stable is being indicated by a diminutive figure to three shepherds, dressed in short, full tunics, with tight-fitting hose and long-pointed red shoes.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE STAR.

THE MAGI ON THEIR JOURNEY.—Three figures on foot, in tunics, travelling cloaks, and long hose, with pointed shoes, saucer-shaped, broad-brimmed hats, having a knob on the crown, and carrying staves or spears. Architecture intended for Herod's palace or Jerusalem.

HEROD CONSULTING WITH THE CHIEF PRIESTS.—Herod on a throne with an architectural setting, the Chief Priests in ecclesiastical robes with (?) mitres and croziers.

Lower tier.

DIVES FEASTING.—(Parts of his house remain, showing arches and domes covered with scale-shaped tiles, battlementing, etc.)

LAZARUS CARRIED TO ABRAHAM'S BOSOM.—The soul of the beggar is painted as a nude, sexless figure, borne in a napkin by four large angels. The outstretched wings of the upper pair pierce a border of clouds. On the left is a domed tower, the upper part of which is drawn in perspective, and the lower has a pediment and horse-shoe arcading. On the right, a pair of smaller arcaded turrets, with high-pitched tiled roofs, to represent Paradise. The inscription, PAVPER ObIIT, on a red band above.

[DIVES IN HELL.]

WEST WALL.

THE TORMENTS OF THE INFERNO.—Gigantic pink demons are tearing limb from limb and devouring the bodies of lost souls.

NORTH WALL, WEST TO EAST.

Upper tier.

THE MAGI PRESENTING THEIR GIFTS.—Architectural setting of circular arches, turrets, and columns with carved capitals. The Virgin, with a Byzantine crown and halo, seated on a daïs with the Child (well grown) on her knees, before whom one of the Magi kneels, presenting in a napkin his gift. The others stand on the left, in cloaks, short tunics, long hose, and square caps, bearing their gifts. At the Virgin's feet a four-sided footstool.

AN ANGEL APPEARS TO JOSEPH IN A DREAM.—Joseph sleeping on a bed. The angel, pointing with a long, crooked forefinger at him, delivers his message. Two circular arches above, with clouds. Under this

1 2 3 4 5 6 feet.

[*P. M. Johnston, del.*

HARDHAM CHURCH : PAINTINGS ON NORTH WALL OF NAVE.

is shown, beneath circular arches with carved capitals, another angel appearing from the clouds, in the scene of THE MAGI WARNED IN A DREAM. The three, with nightcaps, are sleeping under one coverlet, their heads resting on a large pillow.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.—Mother and Child are seated on the ass, led by Joseph with lantern and staff.[1] The idols of Egypt, in four niches, are falling at the coming of Christ. One is shown as casting itself headlong, another as tumbling on to its knees in worship.

The single narrow-splayed early window in this wall follows the last picture. It is painted with a trellis-pattern in pink and white bands on a deep-red ground.

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.—Herod's soldiers, in short, full-skirted tunics above the knees, and long pink hose with red shoes, are realistically depicted slaughtering the children, whose mothers are striving frantically to protect them. The Innocents are mostly naked. One of the mothers is being seized by the hair.

[THE CIRCUMCISION: or, THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.—Destroyed by the insertion of a thirteenth century lancet.]

EAST WALL OF NAVE.

Upper tier, left of chancel-arch.

THE FINDING IN THE TEMPLE.—Figures of the Child-Christ, sitting in the midst of the doctors, and Mary and Joseph.

NORTH WALL OF NAVE.

Lower tier.

ST. GEORGE AT THE BATTLE OF ANTIOCH.—St. George, nimbed and galloping on a white horse, is seated

1 This subject, somewhat differently treated, was found at Plumpton.

on a high-cruppered saddle, with a steel cap on his head, and wearing a full-sleeved dalmatic, slit at the throat, over a long tunic, his feet in the stirrups. With his left hand he reins in his steed. His long lance bears a five-tailed pennon, and with its pointed end he is spearing a group of paynims, who are crouching behind kite-shaped shields of the pattern familiar from the Bayeux Tapestry. Piers of diaper-work and masonry patterns divide the subjects, the next being ST. GEORGE BEFORE DATIAN (very imperfect), and other scenes destroyed by the insertion of a modern doorway. One of these was probably ST. GEORGE DRINKING FROM THE POISONED CUP. Further to the east is the martyrdom, ST. GEORGE ON THE WHEEL, in which the saint is shown "bound upon a wheel full of sharp blades; but the wheel was broken by two angels who descended from heaven."

Some other incident in the saint's history no doubt occupied the space between this last subject and the chancel-arch, but whatever it may have been, it has been destroyed by the insertion of a thirteenth century lancet.[1]

Space will not permit of more than the briefest mention of some others of the more interesting of the ancient wall-paintings in the county.

The paintings at Clayton, of the same early twelfth century date as those at Hardham, are almost as valuable,

1 St. George's history was painted upon the north wall of the nave at Westmeston, and among the scenes was St. George brought before the Pro-consul Datian and being forced to drink a poisoned cup prepared by a magician. The words DATIANO REGI in white letters appeared on a band above. There is a bequest in a will of 1537 to "Saynt George's light at Hardham." St. George was painted on the wall of Stedham Church, Sussex—a work of late date—and at Trotton, in the same neighbourhood, which church, together with those of Eastergate, West Grinsted, Hurstpierpoint, and Crowhurst, was dedicated in his honour. Paintings of the saint have also been found at Westfield, Arlington, Arundel, and Mid-Lavant.

and present many curious features. Over the chancel-arch—itself of Saxon date—is our Lord in glory, within a vesica, with large figures on either side. Flanking the arch on the north, our Lord is depicted as giving the keys to St. Peter; and in the corresponding position on the south side the Institution of the Eucharist may be intended. High up on the south wall of the nave—

FIG. 2.

the walls are unusually lofty, as is commonly the case in churches of pre-Conquest date—angels with a cross are repelling ecclesiastics, some of whom appear to be bishops vested in chasubles, with stoles, mitres, and pastoral staves, all of very early character, the mitres being low caps with "horns" at the two front angles. On the north, Gospel, side the Redeemed are seen as being welcomed into Paradise or the Heavenly Mansions, which may be partly signified by a curious balustraded

enclosure, within which are figures. There are more bishops and other ecclesiastics painted on this wall as among the blessed. A peculiar feature of the Clayton paintings is a deep band of foliaged scroll-work, which separates the upper and lower tiers of paintings both on the chancel-arch wall and the north and south walls of the nave.

Somewhat later than this important "Lewes School" group that we have been considering are the curiously stiff Byzantine-looking figures of saints or apostles, seated, painted in tiers, on the soffit of an arch of about 1170, leading from the south aisle to the south chapel in West Chiltington church.[1] The remains of an ecclesiastic in a chasuble, with an ornate diaper background, of about the same period, are to be seen on the soffit of an early Norman arch in the east face of the north transept at Chichester Cathedral. Fragments of paintings of about 1170 remain in the lady chapel also. At Patcham, near Brighton, is the well-known "Doom," over another early chancel-arch. Parts of the painting on and around the arch appear to be of even older date—perhaps late eleventh century—but the "Doom" itself is of the last decades of the twelfth century, and in many details recalls the curious paintings of the same date in Claverley church, Shropshire, as has been pointed out by Mr. N. H. J. Westlake, F.S.A., in his work on *Mural Paintings*. A seated figure of our Lord, with cruciform nimbus, showing the wounds, within an aureole of irregular quatrefoil shape, the Blessed Virgin keeling in intercession on His right, angels bearing the instruments of the Passion on His left, and a background of other angels and apostles, fills the circular space at the top; and before the feet of the Divine Judge diminutive figures of a king and a bishop are rising

[1] These and other valuable ancient paintings in this church are perishing by slow decay, and cry out for the application of some preservative treatment. The paintings particularly alluded to above are additionally in peril from the stove chimney that is coating them with soot.

from their coffins, as though summoned to judgment. Beneath these are seen processions of the redeemed (among whom are both sexes, three kings, three mitred figures, and several with tonsured heads), apparently being conducted to bliss by angels, other angels being shown as if repelling the condemned. This painting was touched up when it was uncovered, but large parts of the original work remain. It has been questioned whether it was not partly repainted in the thirteenth century.

At Steyning the piers of the grand late Norman arcades show traces of decoration in red outline. The only subject that can now be made out is our Lord sitting at meat in the Chief Pharisee's house, and the woman that was a sinner washing His feet. Its date is about 1220.

At the restoration, in 1867, of Binsted church, near Arundel, the walls were discovered to have been painted with a very complete and interesting series of subjects, among which were, on the south wall of the chancel, the Entombment and the Enthronement of our Lord, and on the north a good diaper pattern and some drapery folds or curtains—part of a dado. Besides these there were a painting by the south door of the nave and others. All were, most unhappily, allowed to perish, but two remarkable bits on the splays of a Norman window in the north wall of the chancel were preserved. On the left is a triple-branched tree, perhaps symbolizing the Blessed Trinity; and on the right splay the portrait of a queen within a rectangular black-bordered frame. Between the two, in the head of the window, is a curly red star, with green balls between the rays; and round the window is a border of red scalloped lacing and green balls. The whole is coeval with the small window, which dates from about 1140. The queen's figure is noteworthy as being a nearly contemporary painting of the then lately canonized Margaret of Scotland, her

name, S(T)A MARG:, being still visible in black letters above her head. She has a nimbus and a yellow crown, a chin-wimple framing her face and falling over her shoulders. She wears a cloak of red over a dress of the same colour in a lighter shade, and has pointed yellow shoes; her hands are spread out in the Eastern attitude of prayer. These and the face, with other parts originally painted white, have turned to a dark blue-grey on account of the lead in the pigment. This painting is of unique interest, no other of this truly saint-like queen being known to be in existence.[1]

In the beautiful private chapel of the Bishop's Palace at Chichester, erected a little before 1200, is a remarkably delicate painting, circular in shape, and nearly, if not quite, of the same date, representing the Blessed Virgin and Child with censing angels. The figures are placed within a quatrefoil, the spandrels of which have very graceful foliage on a red ground, and the blue robe of the Virgin is powdered with fleur-de-lys in gold; on her head is a gold crown. The whole measures only about 2 ft. 9 ins. across, and the drawing is very minute—more on the scale of a parchment illumination (which it greatly resembles) than of a wall-painting. One of the before-mentioned consecration crosses adjoins this painting on the right. Probably a good deal else remains still under whitewash and a thin coat of cement, with which the chapel walls have been covered at some time in the nineteenth century.

A delightful little bit of painting, thanks to the zeal of the rector, the Rev. H. L. Randall, was preserved when

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1 A coloured reproduction from a water-colour sketch by the writer, made in 1888, has been published in the article on "Mural Paintings" in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xliii., before referred to. Since this appeared the writer has made a careful coloured tracing in *facsimile*, so that an absolute record may be preserved of this interesting fragment. Mr. W. Hamilton Hall, F.S.A., has furnished the writer with a curious chain of documentary evidence, showing the probability of a family connection with the queen having been the cause of her effigy being thus painted in an obscure church.

THE PALACE CHAPEL, CHICHESTER: THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND CHILD.

Cocking church was restored a few years ago. It is on the splay of an early Norman window, high up in the south wall of the nave, the painting itself dating from the first half of the thirteenth century. The wall in which this window stands was pierced with two arches in the early part of the fourteenth century to give access to the new aisle that was then thrown out, thus rendering useless the original window, which was accordingly blocked up, after the painting had been in existence probably less than a hundred years. Its subject is the Star of Bethlehem and the Angel appearing to the Shepherds. The star—a flaming one, like a comet, in pink and red—is placed above a band of conventional clouds. The angel's right hand points towards it as he delivers his message to the shepherds, and in his left hand is a graceful palm-branch—emblem of peace and good-will. The principal shepherd, in a red gabardine with a pink hood, dark-blue shoes, and grey two-fingered gloves, bears a crook, shaped like a hockey-stick, and shades his eyes with his right hand as he gazes at the angel. Another shepherd, in an attitude of wonderment, appears behind, wearing a grey hood over a pink gown, with white stockings, and also carries a crook like the others. In the rear appears to be the sheep-fold, while at the feet of the chief shepherd is his dog, a little prick-eared grey beast, with a collar round its neck, sitting back on its haunches with wide-open mouth, as though in astonishment or fright at the angel—a quaint detail which occurs also in a painting of the same subject and date on one of the pillars in the north transept of Faversham church, Kent.

Treyford church, in the same neighbourhood, has some remains of very curious early thirteenth century paintings, now fast disappearing, owing to the church having been allowed to go to ruin.[1] Besides consecration

1 A sad reproach to all concerned. The sister church of Elsted, more lately, has drifted into the same condition, despite the earnest pleadings of antiquaries.

crosses, there is in the chancel a beautiful diaper of lattice-work pattern, filled in in alternate diamonds with white trefoiled crosses on a red ground, smaller crosses being placed at the intersection of the bands dividing the diamonds. The window-arches show conventional stone-jointing in red, white, and yellow. On the piers flanking the triplet, and on the wall above, is a very bold scroll pattern in red, and over all a "cloud" border, like that at Cocking. On the pier-spaces between the lancets is a curious dappled ornament, a mediæval imitation of marble. Above this again, in the gable of the east wall, were still visible in 1888, when the writer first sketched these paintings, parts of a "Majesty," of which two six-winged seraphim in adoration were fairly distinct. Traces of colour could be made out upon the west wall of the nave, and decoration of sixteenth century character upon the timber and plaster screen, which originally separated nave and chancel.

In Fernhurst and Midhurst churches some remains of thirteenth century paintings have been uncovered, but little was left to give a clue to the original schemes. A small Virgin and Child, with undecipherable lettering, were still visible a few years ago on the north wall of the tower at Midhurst, which is on the south side of the nave.

Horsham church was found at its restoration to be covered with paintings, mostly of thirteenth century date; but some, as on the arch to the tower, of the latter part of the twelfth century,[1] and others of the fourteenth century and later. On the west wall of the nave, over the tower arch, were very large paintings of the Annunciation and the Last Supper, with good masonry patterns. They were repainted, with many variations

1 The tower arch itself is decorated with a running band of trefoil cresting between red lines, and on another order of the arch is a scrolled foliage pattern, alternating with pink chevrons, the latter appearing also in the painting on an early arch at Sidlesham, near Selsey.

and additions. Elsewhere was a painting of our Lord between SS. Peter and Paul—a subject which was found at Westmeston in the now destroyed paintings.

Some of the curious twelfth century figures at West Chiltington have been already described. It is evident that the whole nave was decorated at the same time, as, under the later thirteenth century scheme, the older decoration appears in many places, such as in a sort of

FIG. 3.

dog-tooth ornament and a band of interlacing arches painted as borders to the nave arcade, and in diaper patterns on the soffit of the arches, over which more elaborate diapers have been painted at the later date. The thirteenth century scheme consists of a series of circular trefoil-headed arches on shafts with foliaged capitals, painted on the spandrels of the arcade and on the north wall of the nave. Within these are painted (north wall) the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Visit of the Shepherds, and other events in the childhood of

our Lord; and (south wall) His Riding into Jerusalem, Betrayal, Scourging, Crucifixion, Resurrection, etc. On the east wall of the nave were paintings of the Apostles, our Lord in Glory, and perhaps a Doom. The variety of colours employed, such as chocolate, black, green, stone-blue, cherry-red, yellow, pink, and white, is very exceptional, and the peculiar elegance of the foliaged scroll patterns used in running bands on the north wall and in the spandrels of the painted arches, together with the almost classical excellence of the figure-drawing on the same wall, make these paintings worthy of the closest attention at the hands of antiquaries and students. Like many other ancient paintings, they are slowly powdering off the walls for want of some preservative process.

At Wisborough Green church, in the same neighbourhood, is a very curious painting on the south side of the chancel-arch, of about 1200, representing "Our Lord as a pilgrim receiving Christian pilgrims led to Him by St. James the Great. Under this is a Crucifixion of remarkable character, the horizontal beam of the Cross supporting both our Lord and one of the thieves."[1] On the tower wall was a painting, now destroyed, of Pride surrounded by Demons, representing the Seven Deadly Sins, a subject still remaining at Trotton and Arundel. At Findon is a painting of the Last Supper, of late twelfth or early thirteenth century date.

Slindon church, near Arundel, used to show some excellent masonry patterns, with foliage and a border of zigzags, a good deal of green colour being employed, together with the more usual Indian red. Plain "stoning" lines are still visible in parts, but the more elaborate patterns, together with some consecration crosses

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1 The late J. L. Andrè, in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xliii. A coloured engraving and description of this painting are to be found in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xxii., pp. 134-147.

and figures in the spandrels of the arcades, have long since disappeared.[1]

Wivelsfield church preserves a piece of diaper decoration at the back of an altar recess, of *circa* 1210, in its south chapel.

At Beddingham, near Lewes, the soffits of the nave arcade were found, at the restoration in 1862, to be painted with foliage work and figures, chiefly in red, dating from about 1200. In each arch two angels were represented, their wings meeting at the apex. All were destroyed except the fragment remaining on the eastern arch of the arcade on the south of the nave, which shows a figure at the springing of the arch and foliage above it.

At Udimore, near Winchelsea, on the north wall of the nave, is part of a figure and a band of scroll-work of thirteenth century date; and in the angle of the same wall with the east wall of the nave is a diaper pattern of diamond shape, painted in red and black, and probably intended as the pavement under the feet of a saint.

In the pretty little vaulted chapel at the east end of the south aisle of Aldingbourne church is scroll-work of thirteenth century date—quite early.

Only a few fragments of early painting remain in Boxgrove Priory church, such as a piece of vine-pattern scroll-work, of late twelfth century date, on the south face of the north-east pier of the central tower.

St. Olave's church, Chichester, before its practical rebuilding, had on the east wall, above the altar, the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and figures of saints in niches; also two consecration crosses and a masonry pattern—all of thirteenth century character. A coloured engraving and description are preserved in vol. v. of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, p. 213.

1 Clymping church, a perfect cruciform building, dating from 1220-30, was evidently covered with coeval paintings, all destroyed at the restoration. The writer recollects a sort of running border over the nave seats (north wall) of the Animals going into the Ark.

St. Martin's, Chichester, recently pulled down, was found to have early thirteenth century paintings on its walls, among which was a figure of a bishop.

One other important series of paintings, in Preston church, near Brighton, dating from about the middle of the thirteenth century, remains to be described—alas! as things of the past. The disastrous fire of June, 1906, which completely gutted the nave of this interesting and perfect Early English building, left only a few blackened fragments of the paintings. The writer had every hope that, when restoring the building, copies of the paintings, which were the chief glory of the church, might have been painted on canvas from tracings and photographs of the originals placed in his hands for this purpose; but, so far, those responsible have not seen their way to authorizing this to be done. The public memory is short, and Preston seems contented to forget that it once possessed some of the most interesting of Sussex wall-paintings.

They were uncovered in 1828 and subsequently, and although they had scaled off in places, and had been partially touched up about 1878, they remained in a very fair state of preservation. On the north wall of the nave were three tiers of subjects between two lancets near its eastern end, the uppermost representing the Last Supper. The heads of the figures had disappeared, but the table, with vessels thereon (among which were two with fishes in them), and a kneeling figure on the wrong side of it—perhaps intended for Judas taking the sop—was very perfect. A cloud border separated this from the next subject, which was the Nativity. The shepherds on the left are approaching the manger-cradle, in which is the swaddled Babe. Above are the manger and the heads of the ass and ox, and between them the Star of Bethlehem. On the right, Joseph with his right hand points to the Holy Child, and with his left holds a scroll; and on the same side, in the foreground, the

Blessed Virgin, also indicating the Child with her right hand, appears to be inviting the shepherds to approach and adore Him. The lowest tier shows the three Magi holding their gifts—demi-figures, with a background of foliage, and below them a running scroll border, with trefoil leafage.[1] The principal colours used were red, pink, and yellow. On the window splays were sprays of trefoil foliage and vines with clusters of grapes, but as these had been repainted, it is difficult to say how far they represented the originals.

FIG. 4.—PART OF THE MAGI PRESENTING THEIR GIFTS, NORTH WALL OF NAVE, PRESTON CHURCH.

The east wall of the nave is very wide, with a comparatively narrow arch to the chancel, and above and around this arch were painted the Incredulity of St. Thomas, "Noli Me tangere," SS. Catherine and Margaret, a bishop (? St. Nicholas), and a female figure beneath a canopy. Below these, on the northern side, was the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and

1 The figures of the Magi and the lower part of the Nativity are almost the only relics left by the fire. The Child lies in a sort of shallow bowl, standing on a tall, spreading stand, like that of a chalice, with scrolls to the sides. The Adoration of the Magi occurred at Portslade, near Brighton.

on the southern St. Michael weighing souls,[1] a small pig-like demon being poised in one scale against a nude figure representing the human soul. In the upper tier were some graceful vines and sprays of trefoil leafage, and some of the figures were beautifully drawn and gracefully proportioned. In the martyrdom scene, the three knights and the faithful monk, Grim, as well as the martyred archbishop, were very plain.

There are traditions of a painting of St. Sebastian (or St. Edmund, King and Martyr?) having been found many years ago on another bay of the north wall of the nave, but the writer has never come across any definite record of the subject.

The splays of two mid-thirteenth century windows in the chancel of West Hoathly church are decorated with peculiarly elegant scroll-work patterns of the same date, which may well have been painted by the artist who executed the Preston paintings.

At Kirdford, an isolated church in north-west Sussex, some paintings were found a good many years ago, but were all destroyed. Among them were a Crucifixion at the east end, St. Nicholas restoring the two children to life, St. Catherine with her wheel, a King exhorted to good by a counsellor on one side and to evil by a demon on the other, and (perhaps) the Adoration of the Magi.

At Yapton, Lyminster, Rustington, Iford, Wilmington, and Bishopstone, fragments of early paintings have been found, and in about a dozen cases there is every probability that others exist beneath whitewash and await discovery.

So far paintings of the earlier period, from pre-Conquest times to the middle of the thirteenth century, have been dealt with, and, as will be seen, they are exceptionally numerous. But comparatively few examples of the period from *circa* 1250 to *circa* 1540

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1 See *post*, Lindfield and Rotherfield, for examples of this subject.

have come down to us, possibly because, being in most cases painted on a thin coat of whitewash over earlier paintings, they have been more easily destroyed.

Quite recently the writer has uncovered the remains of some large figures on the north wall of the beautiful old church of North Stoke, near Amberley. One is evidently that of a bishop, vested for mass, with hand raised in benediction. A broken fetter, in connection with an adjoining figure, may indicate that St. Leonard, the deacon, the patron of the neighbouring church of South Stoke, was intended.

There is reason to believe that at Harting, a fine cross church on the Hampshire border, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some paintings, uncovered in 1851, on the spandrels of the south arcade of the nave, and plastered over again, still exist. By the kindness of the Rev. A. J. Roberts, Vicar of Harting, the writer has been able to see and copy sketches made before they were again covered up. The subjects appear to have been, St. Ann teaching the Blessed Virgin to read, St. Helena with the Cross, and others not clearly made out; also a very perfect figure of St. Lawrence, the deacon-martyr, a nimbed and bearded figure with the tonsure, vested in an apparelled alb, amice, and fringed dalmatic, bearing in his right hand the gridiron, the instrument of his martyrdom, and in his left, from the wrist of which depends a fringed maniple, a book of the gospels. His dalmatic was blue, with horizontal bars of red and yellow, a sort of heraldic way of indicating the manner of his death. The date of these paintings was probably about 1280 to 1300, the same as that of the arcade on which they were painted.

Paintings, also destroyed, of considerable interest, formerly existed at Lindfield, where was the soul-weighing, with St. Michael standing on the seven-headed beast, whose heads are seen cut off, holding the scales in his right hand and a sword in the left; on his right the

Blessed Virgin, as the Succourer of Souls;[1] and at Battle, where the whole length of the nave clerestory and the space around the chancel-arch were painted (i.) with scenes from the Passion of our Lord, and the contest of good and evil; and (ii.) the Three Kings Living and the Three Dead; also two rows of figures on splays and walls of nave.[2]

The church of All Saints, Hastings, had a number of paintings, which came to light at the restoration, including ships on the north wall (? part of a picture of St. Christopher), Catherine wheels in various parts of the church, and, on the south wall, the Decollation of St. John the Baptist. Inscriptions, apparently in rhyme, had been written beneath each subject on the walls.[3] Over the chancel-arch a "doom," of fifteenth century date, still remains. A figure of our Lord, crowned with thorns and seated upon the rainbow, holds in His right hand a sword and a lily in the left. His mouth is open, and displays two wounds, one on either side. In the background is the New Jerusalem, with angel trumpeters on its towers.

Another destroyed series of paintings was uncovered about sixty years ago in the restoration of Portslade church. The principal of these appears to have been a "Doom," or Last Judgment; and it may be convenient here to enumerate the other examples of this very favourite subject that have been recorded in Sussex.[4] "Dooms" have been found at Rotherfield, West Chiltington, and Ford. The great painting at Trotton of the Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporal Acts of

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1 *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. ii., pp. 129-131, with engraving.

2 Engraved in colour in *Journal of British Archæological Association*, vol. ii., p. 148; also in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xlii., pp. 216-225.

3 *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xxiii., pp. 193-196.

4 The painting over the chancel-arch at Plumpton before mentioned, in which the figure of St. Michael occurred, was probably one of the earliest "dooms" remaining in this country in wall-painting. Its unhappy destruction is therefore the more to be deplored.

Mercy, to be described later, is practically a "doom" also, as the figure of the Divine Judge is introduced as the crowning feature in the composition.

The Rotherfield "doom," over the chancel-arch, has a very similar figure of Christ as the Judge, seated upon the throne, with the rainbow beneath His feet. His robe is open to display the sacred wounds in feet, hands, and side. St. Michael weighing souls occurs here also. There is an Annunciation on the splays of the east window of the north chapel of early fifteenth century date; also the Incredulity of St. Thomas (*vide* Preston, *supra*), on the western arch of the north chapel; and formerly the church boasted a painting of the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.[1]

The late Mr. J. L. Andrè, F.S.A., has recorded that at the restoration of Angmering church in 1852-3, "a 'doom' was discovered over the chancel-arch, which has been practically rebuilt. In this composition the whole of the women were going to bliss and the men to misery." No trace of this curious example now remains.

As before mentioned, a "doom" occupied the space over and around the chancel-arch—the almost invariable position for this large and complex subject—at West Chiltington. This also has been destroyed.

The writer, when restoring the small church of Ford, near Arundel, discovered the remains of a very curious and somewhat late "doom" over the chancel-arch.[2] This was divided into several compartments by the king-post and braces of the nave roof. In the left-hand division was a large figure of the Blessed Virgin sheltering a band of the redeemed, who had sought her intercession; and on the right was another group of saved souls

1 The pillars of the nave arcade and their capitals are recorded by the late J. L. Andrè, F.S.A., to have been, in 1854, elaborately decorated in patterns, stripes, spirals, zigzags, etc., but this decoration has since disappeared.

2 Described and illustrated in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xliii.

beneath the figure of Christ, the Divine Judge. Very little of the last figure was left, but He appeared to be holding a large open scroll in His left hand, countercharged black and grey-blue, as though to indicate those whose names were "blotted out of the Book of Life." Satan stood on his left hand, a grim, blue figure, with forked tail, clawed feet and hands, and a hideous semi-animal face, holding a dung-fork, with which he was shovelling down a batch of the condemned. These were being caught by blue devils below (one with cow's horns, another with goat's horns, their bodies covered with shaggy hair), who were thrusting and driving the lost into the open jaws of hell—here shown as a great red whale's head, with jagged teeth, through which the flames were issuing. The goat-demon was apparently carrying a female with long hair on his back into the open mouth. In the centre, within two triangular spaces framed in by the braces and king-post, were (left) two little figures, a man and a woman, rising from their coffins, and other figures, male and female, rising from boats, to symbolize respectively "all that are in the graves" hearing "the voice of the Son of Man," and the sea giving up its dead. The appropriateness of the latter treatment to Ford, which is on the maritime river Arun, close to the sea, is very obvious.

Besides this subject, two others, from what was apparently a series illustrating the events in the Passion, were found on the south wall of the nave.—One, on a window-splay close to the chancel-arch, portrayed our Lord in the Agony in the Garden; above, on the soffit of the window-arch, being a pair of winged dragons, with their heads interlaced—perhaps intended to symbolize "the hour and the power of darkness." On the wall to the right was either the Betrayal or the Bearing of the Cross. Happily, all these and other fragments found were preserved, and are still to be seen.

St. Christopher—that favourite morality with the later schoolmen and artists—must have been painted on the walls of most Sussex churches; but, strange to say, though so many good examples occur in other counties, not one remains in this county in anything like a perfect state. We have evidence of the former existence of this saint on the walls of Rogate, Stedham, Aldingbourne, South Bersted, Ford, West Chiltington, Nuthurst, West Grinstead, Poynings, Arlington, All Saints', Hastings, and Rotherfield—all paintings of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Burton church, near Petworth, a tiny structure, retaining a perfect rood-screen and many other interesting features, has a painting on the splay of a window on the north side of the nave, which the late Mr. J. L. Andrè supposed to be St. Wilgefortis, of early sixteenth century date.

At Lurgashall, in the same locality, are some heraldic shields, painted upon the wall of the nave, which are probably of the fourteenth century. Others of the same date have been uncovered at Trotton church (*post*).

A subject which occurs in other counties, and which was also very popular with the later schools of church decorators, the Seven Deadly Sins, contrasted with the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, has been found in at least three Sussex churches—Trotton, Arundel, and Wisborough Green,[1] and the paintings in the two first still remain. In that at Arundel, which dates from about 1380, when the church was rebuilt by Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, the "Sins," painted over the north door, are shown in the usual manner by a gigantic nude male figure, with flying dragons issuing from those parts of the body which the particular sin was supposed to reside in or to affect. The Acts of Mercy are depicted as in a great wheel of seven compartments, in the centre of which is an angel, by some supposed to represent

1 Probably it occurred at Mid-Lavant also.

our Lord. The Clothing of the Naked, Feeding the Hungry, Giving Drink to the Thirsty, Visiting the Prisoner and the Sick, can be made out in the several compartments, and the Taking in of the Stranger and Burial of the Dead complete the composition; but in both these paintings the artist seems to have only got as far as a thin red outline, with a suggestion of yellow colouring, and never to have finished his work. On the same north wall of the nave, to the eastward, is a later and more elaborate painting (*circa* 1450) of the Blessed Virgin, wearing a mantle, upheld by a portly demi-angel with iridescent wings. A black and white pavement is shown under the Virgin's feet. Other fragments and traces of colour, including the many consecration crosses before noted, may be seen in the church proper, and in the Fitzalan chancel and Lady chapel.

The remarkable paintings at Trotton, an out-of-the-way church on the road between Midhurst and Petersfield, were uncovered during the restoration of 1904 by the writer, with the painstaking help of the squire of Trotton, Mr. E. J. Nevill, and other zealous workers. The church itself, a very complete example of Geometrical Early Decorated, built by the Camois family in about 1290, seems to have been only partially painted at that time. A row of heraldic shields in outline was found beneath the later painting on the west wall of the nave, together with the original consecration crosses. Traces of large figures were met with on the east wall and elsewhere, which may have belonged to this earlier period. They were chiefly in thin red outline (as though roughed out in red chalk and never finished), and, owing to the tenacity of the later coats of colour-wash and the presence of numerous monumental tablets, it was not found possible to proceed with the uncovering, except upon the north wall of the nave, where some large figures (one headless), with dogs and horses, suggested the legend of St. Hubert or St. Eustace. A fragment of a knight

upon a white charger, near to the south door, of fifteenth century date, may be St. George, in whose honour the church is dedicated.

It was upon the great west wall of the nave, roughly thirty feet wide and high, with only a door in the centre to break its surface, that the painting of the Last Judgment, combined with representations of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, was brought to light. They probably owe their existence to Lady Margaret de Camois, under whose will, dated 1387, a sum of money was left for the reparation of the church. The only colours used are Indian red, yellow ochre, pink, and white, with black and perhaps a little green in the lettering, etc. At the top is a figure of our Lord seated upon the rainbow beneath a canopy of clouds, with the "circle of the earth" under His feet. Their guardian angels are presenting on either side the small nude figures symbolizing the souls of the blessed and the cursed, to whom respectively are addressed the Divine sentences (on scrolls), **Venite benedicti** and **Ite maledicti.** Beneath these, and over the head of the door, is a demi-figure of Moses, the great law-giver, horned and holding the tables of the law. Flanking this, and on the spectator's left—but, curiously, on our Lord's *right* hand—is the figure of Pride and the Seven Deadly Sins. Hell yawns beneath him, and a goggling demon with cow's horns is striking out with a flesh-hook at the sins issuing from his body. He is shown as of gigantic stature (about nine feet high actually), with curled beard and ringlets, and quite nude save for a monstrous turban or head-dress, in satirical allusion to the extravagant erections which the fine gentlemen of those days placed upon their heads. His hands are outspread, as if inviting attention to his sins. Winged dragons, something like cock-pheasants, are attached by their long tails, or by ligaments, to his hands and other parts of his body. The distended, upturned

jaws of the dragons are vomiting forth the "sins." At the top, on the spectator's right, is Gluttony—the title, **Gula,** being discernible on a scroll above—a paunchy figure of a greedy man with a cup upon his knee, but impatiently drinking out of a large flagon or leathern jack. Next below is **Accidia,** Sloth, in which the lazy man is sleeping upon his bed, and his wife stretching herself and yawning, while a bell round the dragon's neck is tolling for Matins. Behind is seen his unused chest of tools. Below this again, **Avaricia,** plainly tells its story in the picture of the miser, one shoe on and one off, sleeping on his money chest, with coins and a string of jewels which have dropped from his grasp. **Luxuria,** or Lust, on the opposite side, has been partially destroyed. A demon appears to be tempting a man and a woman to illicit intercourse. **Ira,** Anger, shows a fool in parti-coloured clothes stabbing himself in a fit of passion, urged thereto by a demon. **Invidia,** Envy, is very imperfect; and **Superbia,** or Pride, the parent or root-sin, which crowned the man's head, has almost entirely disappeared.

Contrasted with this moral warning, on the opposite or northern side of the wall is the figure of the GOOD MAN, surrounded by the acts of mercy performed by him in his lifetime. He also is of colossal size, with flowing locks and beard, habited in what may be intended as the franklin's gown, or perhaps as the frock of a religious, with a hood falling over the shoulders. His hands are joined in prayer, and he looks upwards with a pious expression. Scrolls, floating round him, bear the titles of the cardinal virtues that adorned his life—**Fides, Spes** and **Caritas.** The Acts of Mercy are shown by quaintly realistic scenes, painted within roundels, between two and three feet in diameter. That above his head illustrates our Lord's words, "I was naked, and ye clothed Me." A charitable lady is seen helping a beggar into a shirt, apparently under the

TROTTON CHURCH: THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS, AND THE SEVEN ACTS OF MERCY.

open sky, as clouds are shown on the red background. "I was an hungred, and ye gave Me meat," is illustrated by the next roundel on the left, in which beggars or pilgrims are seen receiving broken meats at the door of a charming half-timber house; and in the corresponding roundel on the right the lady of the house is giving drink to thirsty wayfarers from a graceful flagon, in illustration of "I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink." On the left again is the illustration of "I was sick, and ye visited Me," in which the sick man appears to be receiving extreme unction. Opposite to this, on the right, is a very perfect scene representing the words, "I was a stranger, and ye took Me in." A well-drawn figure of a man in parti-coloured clothes (half his body red and the other light pink, with the legs counter-charged also) is standing in the porch of a quaint timber house, the interior of which is visible behind him.

At the bottom, on the left, is the scene illustrating "I was in prison, and ye came unto Me," in which are shown the towers of a fourteenth century castle, like that of Bodiam, in Sussex; and out of a grated opening in one of these round bastions a woe-begone face is peering, while a party of gentlemen, in the peculiar dagged, long-sleeved cloaks, with high-standing collars and exaggerated head-dresses, worn in the reign of Richard II., are advancing to greet him and bring him good cheer. In the opposite or seventh roundel the BURIAL OF THE DEAD, reckoned as making up the last of the Corporal Acts of Mercy, is shown. The priest, in alb, amice, and crossed stole, is committing the body to the earth (under an open sky with clouds), while the widow (apparently) is weeping at the foot of the grave, and an acolyte sprinkles the corpse from a vat in his hand with holy water.

There are not very many examples of this interesting subject remaining in England, and none, the writer

ventures to claim, so complete as this Trotton painting, of which Sussex may be justly proud.[1]

Of the sixteenth century and later a few unimportant pieces of wall-painting might be mentioned, but of this period the most noteworthy examples are not on walls but on vaulting in the lady chapel of Chichester Cathedral and in the quire of Boxgrove Priory church—both the work of the Bernardis A peculiar metallic blue-green in the sprays of foliage is common to both, together with a graceful design of peacocks' feathers. There are some heraldic shields introduced at Boxgrove, and the capitals of the vaulting shafts at Chichester are elaborately decorated in green and gold. The great paintings in the cathedral of the kings of England (from Cædwalla, who is represented as bestowing the monastery of Selsey on St. Wilfrid, to Henry VIII., who appears as confirming the grant to Bishop Sherburne), and of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester, which have been recently pieced together and carefully repaired, have an interest of their own, but are outside the scope of this article.

Very little mural decoration appears to have been attempted during the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors, and, except for some arabesque borders at Bury and Treyford, there is practically nothing to show for this period.

Painting on screens and woodwork of roofs is also rare. The beautiful late fourteenth century rood-screen at St. Nicholas', Brighton, had originally gorgeous colouring, including figures of saints in the lower panels, but none of this now remains. A fragment of the Newtimber rood-beam shows elaborate colouring. Thakeham screen, banished from the church most

1 Raunds Church, Northants, has a good example of this subject, and there are one or two others almost as good in Buckinghamshire. It occurs in its earliest form perhaps in England on the font of Norton Fitzwarren, Wilts., a remarkable work of the latter part of the twelfth century, and on the contemporary font at Southrop, Gloucestershire.

improperly at a recent "restoration"—save the mark!—used also to be painted white, with a powdering of black roses—perhaps originally vermilion—according to the late Mr. J. L. Andrè. The ancient screens of Rustington and Clymping churches, now long since destroyed, according to the same authority, had panels with painting on a red ground, consisting of diaper patterns.

Upon the beautiful early fourteenth century roof of Sutton church, near Petworth, there are considerable remains of gilding and colour, as also in the late fourteenth century wood vaulting (restored) in the Fitzalan chancel of Arundel church. Colour occurs upon the oak roof-bosses at Cuckfield; and at Nutfield there used to be a painted canvas ceiling over the oak roof in the chancel.

Although not strictly within the scope of this article, a few words may be allowable as to domestic paintings. We know for a fact that in the Middle Ages, not only the churches, but the houses of the wealthier classes were decorated with colour. Frequent mention is made of the very subjects which King Henry III., for example, caused the stewards to have painted upon the walls of the halls and sleeping apartments in the royal castles and manor-houses. Where it has not perished from lapse of time or by wilful destruction, one would therefore expect to come across the traces of colour decoration in our domestic buildings: and Sussex offers a few curious examples of this class, such as the paintings at Shulebrede Priory, the lately discovered painting in an old house in Rye, and the paintings in houses at Harting, Cocking, Pevensey, etc. Painted portraits on oak panelling, representing the Queens and Heroines of Antiquity, are in Amberley Castle, said to have been painted to the order of that art-loving prelate, Bishop Sherburne, who also had the ceiling of the dining-hall in the palace at Chichester decorated in gold and colour. The paintings at Shulebrede are in what is known as the Prior's Chamber, on a half-timber partition wall.

One panel represents the Nativity, another the arms and motto of James I., and a third portrays ladies in the costume of that reign. The details of the first are curious, among them being a cock crowing, a label proceeding from his mouth bearing the words, "Christus natus est." A duck asks, "Quando, quando?" and a raven answers, "In hec nocke, in hec nocke"; while the cow moos out, "Ubi? ubi?" and the lamb bleats in answer, "Bethlehem, Bethlehem." It is probable that the house came into the hands of "popish recusants" in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., who caused these quaint conceits to be painted.

The lately discovered painting in an old house in Rye has been described by the writer in Vol. L. of the *Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society*, in which also a coloured illustration has been inserted. Under a heraldic frieze bearing the royal arms and badges of Edward VI., and the Magnificat in English, on tablets held by cherubs, is the motto, thrice repeated, on diagonal strips, "SOLI DEO HONOR ET [GLORIA]," the ground between being of a sage green decorated with fantastic foliage and animals, among which are the elephant (with a castle on its back), fox, leopard, dog, spotted deer, and several birds of doubtful designation. The whole painting gives the impression of having been copied from a tapestry of Eastern design.

While this article was in the press, the discovery of some curious paintings behind seventeenth century panelling in a timber-framed house of much older date—"Peaks," Chiddingly—was brought to the writer's notice, and, in conjunction with the owner, the Hon. Terence Bourke, he has taken steps to secure their preservation. The paintings, which date from about 1572, when a certain William Jefferay came into possession, are upon the walls of a small bed-chamber (no doubt that of the good man and his wife), part of an inserted upper story, probably made earlier in the century, within what had originally been an open

hall with central fireplace, after the primitive manner. They were executed on the rough timber and plaster, the irregular surfaces of which were to some extent made even by pieces of linen pasted over. The paintings had evidently been partially destroyed, after about sixty years, by the erection of the panelling, but some portions remain in a very perfect state, the colours—chiefly sage-greens, grey-blues, and bright scarlet, with a good deal of white "shading" and "lacing"—being very fresh. The design consists of a frieze of swags of fruit and flowers, and a "filling," of which only one panel remains, on the body of the walls, representing a conventional flower-garden of the period. Full-blown roses, anemones (or wind-flowers), large daisies, pinks, and Canterbury bells are among the flowers represented; while apples, pears, and bunches of grapes figure prominently in the fruits. In the centre of the frieze on each wall was originally a framed verse in "black-letter," of which two only remain in anything like a perfect state. They are as follows:—

NORTH SIDE

In lyfe there is no sure staye
for fleashe as flower dothe vade awaye
this carcas made of slyme and claye
while we have tyme then let vs praye
to god for grace both nighte and daye

SOUTH SIDE

Behold the ende ere thou begynne
Have minde of deathe and fear to sinne
For death shall ceare that lyfe hath sowne
And lyfe shall springe wheare death hath mowne
Give grace thearfore O god moste hye
That we in Christe maye lyve and dye.

On one of the beams are the remains of an earlier scheme of painting, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

NOTE.—Sussex was rich in the colour decoration of its churches. It is terribly sad to think that, owing to ignorance, carelessness, and prejudice, so much has been swept away in our own time, which had been snugly covered up with successive coats of friendly whitewash by the Reformers and Puritans. We owe them, indeed, our warmest thanks for having in so many cases—although quite unintentionally—preserved these valuable historical records for us. It is a safe assumption that, had they been left alone, they would have perished during the centuries that have since elapsed.

But the people whom one finds it very hard to write temperately about are those unimaginative and narrow-minded folk, in our own "enlightened" days, who have destroyed these delightful records of a vanished age on the ground of their being "Popish and superstitious"; and one feels almost as impatient with others who have allowed the walls of our churches to be skinned of their ancient plaster without so much as giving a thought to the treasures of colour that may be awaiting the patient investigator beneath a few coats of whitewash. It should be one of the first cares of church restorers, instead of, as too often, their last thought, to ascertain what ancient paintings may remain upon the walls; and when such are brought to light by competent hands, not to allow them to slowly crumble away by exposure to the atmosphere after their long hiding from light and air, but to apply one or other of such preservative processes as may be best suited to the particular case.

COTTAGE ARCHITECTURE

By Charles E. Clayton

THE most indifferent travellers through that "centre of all good things and home of happy men, the county of Sussex," must have become aware that besides its village churches, castles, and manor houses, it is still peculiarly rich in the possession of attractive dwellings of a more humble type. But from two very different causes (each in its way to be deplored) the old cottages of Sussex are fast becoming less numerous. On the one hand, careless owners leave them to decay or actively aid in their destruction, so that modern ill-designed houses may occupy their places; on the other, they are acquired by persons who (unaware of the impossibility of reproducing the charm which only the slow-moving years can give to these survivals from "other times, other manners") allow them to be altered and adapted with grievous effacement of their interest.

We shall better appreciate and understand the remains of the simpler domestic architecture, of which there are such abundant examples in Sussex, if we go back through the centuries and trace their evolution, and learn what we may of the habits of our forefathers and of the social conditions under which they lived.

With small exception, it may be said that the villages of Sussex have existed since the Saxons settled in their "hams" and "tuns," the homesteads and enclosures of the aggressive people, from whom we in this county are so largely descended.

But while we have some definite knowledge of the later Saxon ecclesiastical buildings, at the character of their civil architecture we must largely guess, helped by the more or less fanciful sketches with which early manuscripts are embellished. In those far-off times it is clear that the common people lived in mere mud hovels; the Saxon "thegne" built his "hall" from the woods in his domain (or his bondmen built it for him), and thatched it with reeds or straw, perhaps covered it with wattles, or, as suggested by early drawings, with wood "shingles."

The highest achievement in domestic architecture of this date was a high hall or building of one room, with the fire in the centre, and sometimes a second chamber for a little more privacy than the one common room allowed. The house was, there is little doubt, entirely of timber, with wide spaces filled in with clay. The Saxon word for "build" was "getimbrian"—to construct of wood, and the conclusion is obvious that this indicates the character of the buildings. The smoke from the central fire escaped through a hole in the roof, or out of other more accidental openings; the floor was probably of earth, the windows mere unshuttered slits.

In this "hall" sat the Saxon lord and his "hearth-men" round the open wood fire, and a fragment from the contemporary romance of Beowulf graphically describes this:—

> A multitude of warriors watched the hall;
> As they before had often done.
> They bared the bench-planks:
> It was spread over with beds and bolsters.
> Some one of the beer-servants, ready and fated to die,
> Bent to his rest.

The Saxon town was a collection of wooden or mud built thatched huts, with a small church or two, included within a wall or rampart of earth,[1] and probably with

[1] It has been suggested that some of the earthworks now supposed to be the remains of camps are only the ruins of these Saxon enclosures.

an encircling ditch. Mr. Wright, F.S.A., gives the following illuminating description: "The entrance through the outer wall into the court was properly the 'gate' (geàt).[1] The whole mass enclosed constituted the 'burgh' or 'tun.' The entrance to the hall was the 'daru,' or door, which was thus distinguished from the gate. The 'hrof' or roof was called also 'thecan,' a word derived from the verb theccan, 'to cover,' the original of our modern word 'thatch.' There were windows to the 'hall,' which were probably improvements upon the ruder primitive Saxon buildings, for the only Anglo-Saxon words for a window are 'eag-thyrl,' an eye-hole, and 'eag-duru,' an eye-door."

In an early account of the miracles of St. Swithun, the houses at which the saint appeared are mostly called "huts"; one is described as a "little house," another is said to be "thatched," and the streets of Winchester, to which the story refers, were evidently then bordered by closely packed little hovels.

We shall, of course, look in vain for any actual survivals of these inflammable and rudimentary structures, although some of the rows of smaller Irish hovels must very nearly resemble them; and such a thatched cottage as that at Steyning, or at Amberley, certainly very old, unspoilt, and primitive dwelling-places, must in size, height, and general proportions give an idea at least of the old Saxon "hall" of the highest class.

There was little development from these "huts" and "halls" when the Norman invaders came, and after the Conquest the earlier castles, or fortresses even, were of wood, although William and his followers soon began to build in stone. Yet the better-to-do were content for a long while with timber as a building material. Strictly domestic and unfortified buildings of any importance were probably scarce in these times of insecurity and war.

1 The Sussex labourer still speaks pure Saxon when he uses this word.

Domesday, that wonderful record known to the people as "le grand role," wonderful not only for its thoroughness but for its rapid compilation, shows us England divided up into "manors." Each manor had a lord, with his villeins and a few free tenants, villeins proper having fifteen to thirty acres, and a villein class of cottiers with a "cottage" and a garden. We may speculate as to the nature of these cottages; probably they were still mere shelters of clay, with thatched coverings and of primitive character.

The "village" was practically one large farm, carried on by the joint labour of the holders. The manor-house was a simple structure, not much more comfortable or elaborate than its Saxon predecessor, consisting of a large hall, probably a cellar of stone, mostly with a court around and a moat, and in the court various lesser buildings.

The fire was still in the centre, and there was usually no chimney, although some of Norman date in part remain. The walls were very thick and the windows narrow. The hall is still dining-room and bedroom combined, with movable seats round a common table, whilst at night the straw mattresses were ranged along the side walls for both sexes. The usual plan of such a dwelling, having a cellar with the common room above and an internal staircase, is shown by a Shropshire survival. And this, which dates from about 1150, is very similar to the old manor-house at Crowhurst, near Hastings, fully described in vol. vii. of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*. All the fittings continued to be very simple and even rude in character; the furniture was rough and scanty—mere boards laid on trestles for tables, benches to sit upon, the reredos or hearth in the middle, and a few pots and mugs. Even in an inventory so late as 1311 the contents of the "hall" are "two pots and three lavers, boards and trestles, and other necessaries"; while forty years after the same hall only

contained "eight boards, four pairs of trestles, and three seats." This is what we find in the case of the better houses; in the cottages there must have been much less comfort even, so that the humbler folk lived practically in the open air, using their houses but for sleeping and shelter. The labourer and his kind crept at night "candleless to their pallets of straw."

Chaucer, who was nearer our time, speaking of the widow in his *Nun's Tale*, says:—

> Full sooty was hir bowre, and eke hir halle,
> In which she ete many a slender mele.

These conditions long continued, and even when chimneys were becoming less unusual, about 1200, only one was allowed in a manor-house. In a preface to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, as much later as the time of Elizabeth it is stated

> there are old men dwelling in the village who have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in their younger days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realme . . . but each made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

The first chimneys were almost certainly of timber—possibly hollowed tree trunks served—and it is recorded that sticks twisted together and plastered with clay were to be found in the cottages. That many of our remaining Sussex cottages were originally built without their present brick chimney-stacks is indicated by the obvious addition of an isolated chimney at the end or side.

An order of Ward-mote in 1419 directs that "no chimney henceforth shall be made except of stone, tiles, or plaster, and not of timber, under pain of being pulled down."

With mud and timber walls, straw roofs and no chimneys, or these of wood, there is little wonder that we look in vain for many examples of early buildings of the less important class, for the disappearance of

the greater part of the early cottages is very largely due to the ravages of fire.

To prevent these frequent conflagrations, it appears to have been the custom—a custom which still lingers in Wales—to whitewash not only the walls, but the thatch of the roof. The unique form of "fire-engine" kept by the authorities in these primitive times was a supply of large hooks for pulling off the blazing thatch and dragging out the wooden walls!

"Slow Sussex," of course, was far behind in any radical change in its building methods, and in its labourers' dwellings some centuries must pass before we get very far from the original Saxon hut. And when considering the cottage of the English labourer, it is to be remembered that in the fourteenth century he was practically a slave.

Security of life and property increases, and more settled conditions exist; there is less care to preserve the walls of defence; the manor-house becomes less of a fortress, more of a home. We find a lesser hall, beside the common room; this develops into something resembling our dining-room, for the owner and his friends; and separate bedrooms, not merely separate couches, appear. These improvements must have reacted on the cottage, but it was only to a small extent. So many of our oldest Sussex small houses, now used as cottages, were originally occupied by persons of higher social position that they certainly do not represent the dwellings of the labouring class of the period of their erection. Take, for example, the low, one-storied thatched buildings at Nyetimber, which mark a very early stage in domestic architecture. One especially, which is not likely to stand much longer, has, it is true, an upper story, but this cannot be an original feature. It is approached by an almost vertical, wide, oak step-ladder, having a trapway which shuts over the whole opening in the bedroom floor.

Village Street, Bramber.

A similar effective protection against attack from below is found in a farmhouse at Horsted Keynes. Or take the beautiful example at West Tarring. This was not originally built for cottagers, but for a substantial householder, who had private sleeping-rooms upstairs. These upper chambers—sleeping-rooms—probably became general in the early part of the fourteenth century; we have no mention of "parlours" or talking-rooms before the fifteenth century.

FIG. 1.—OLD COTTAGE AT BIGNOR.

The well-known and beautiful cottage at Bignor, now a village shop, of which a sketch is given, was without doubt originally the dwelling of a well-to-do yeoman. Here, in the centre, was the common living-room, with, or probably without, a proper chimney.

Mr. P. M. Johnston, who has recently restored a similar early building in Kent, tells me that he found the rafters thickly encrusted with the smoke of generations, while the original oak traceried windows, blocked up, which had only shutters but no glazing, were still remaining.

Piers Plowman refers to the smoke which had no proper outlet when he says, "Smoke and smothre smyt

in his eyen"; and the absence of any chimney in the original roof is very noticeable in the thatched cottages at Ringmer, Laughton, and Slinfold.

As we have seen, the Saxon windows were mere unprotected slits; even in the early churches it is supposed that these openings were covered with canvas. Shutters came later, and wooden lattices. In 1238 Henry III. was in some danger from an assassin who got into the King's chamber through the unbarred, unshuttered window. Very early drawings show shutters hung at the top opening outwards, and propped open with a stick.

Glass, at first a luxury for the wealthy, began to be applied to windows of houses (in the churches it was already in use) in the latter part of the thirteenth century; and there is a curious sidelight upon its scarcity even later still, in a writ of Richard II., which in 1386 directed Nicholas Hoppewell to "take as much glass as he could find" in Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire for the repairs of the windows at the chapel in Stamford.

That Nicholas Hoppewell should need to ravage four counties certainly indicates the extreme scarcity of glass. Probably horn preceded glass for the purpose of windows, having taken the place of canvas; but we may be assured that it was considerably later before any similar protection made its appearance in the cottage.

At last we come to a revival of brick, with considerable consequent changes, including brick chimneys. It is in 1475 that, in a still existing document, the trade of the "Brekmakerry" is mentioned, although the first bricks probably came from Flanders.

Professor Thorold Rogers records the singular fact that the art of brickmaking was lost in England from the fifth to the fifteenth century.[1] Tiles were always made, although not largely used, and at some well-known

[1] *The Economic Interpretation of History*, vol. i.

tile works in Kent records are said to show the continuous sale since the Conquest.

Stone was used, and, where none was quarried, was transported from other parts to a small extent; but bricks are not mentioned, and this absence of brick-making is the more singular because of the abundance of suitable clay, and the use in some places, as in Cambridgeshire, for instance, of lumps of sun-dried mud or clay for walls.[1]

The first recorded purchase of bricks is in 1449, at Cambridge, but before the end of that century brick-building was not unusual in the eastern counties at least, whilst in the next century this favourite building material of Henry VIII. was certainly common in London.[2]

But the bricks were not for cottage building, if Mr. J. H. Parker is to be relied on when he says:

> In the fifteenth century, as in the fourteenth, the houses of the peasantry were hovels of poverty and filth, and the villages were still mere clusters of mud-built huts. . . . They had no second room, and the single apartment served as a chamber in which all the family slept promiscuously.

We now come to the sixteenth century, and yet we find Erasmus attributing the constant illness of the poor to the deficient ventilation of their dwellings and the extreme uncleanliness of the people, and writing thus of the interior of the houses: "The floors are commonly of clay strewed with rushes, so renewed that the substratum may be undisturbed for some twenty years."

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1 In the New Forest, although none appear to have been newly constructed for more than half a century, a good many mud-built cottages still remain. The walls of these are formed of clay mixed with chopped straw and stones, packed down between boards or hurdles, these latter being removed when the clay dried and hardened. The surface is sometimes whitewashed, but often left uncoloured, and the walls, which are often two feet thick, appear very durable, some of the cottages being of two storeys with stairways and other joinery ingeniously fixed to the mud walls by wood plugs with wedged ends. In one instance the writer found a recent brick casing over the original mud wall.

2 Sussex possesses, in Hurstmonceux Castle, "the finest early brick edifice in England."

Against this indictment may be quoted the comment of a Dutch physician, who in 1560 visited London and remarked: "The chambers and parlours strewn over with sweet herbs refreshed me." Probably the Dutchman only took a superficial view, for the Spaniards who came to London in the reign of Queen Mary were struck with the very homely dwellings, and speak of the English, who, "while they make their houses of sticks and dirt, fare as well as the King." This reference to the food of the people may be due to the increasing use of meat; an old couplet of this period quoted by Mr. Traill runs:

> Good ploughmen look weekly of custom and right,
> For roast meat on Sundays and Thursdays at night.

But in other respects either the Spaniards were wrong or the King's diet was very simple, for bread, sour milk, and whey were the staple foods of the rural population in the sixteenth century. While improvements went on elsewhere, Sussex remained as always—very slow to change.

Even since the days when the Kent men and the Sussex men shared the honour of offering the most stubborn resistance of any of the English to the Norman intruders, or, even earlier still, when this county was the last to forsake heathenism, Sussex has stood for a not unintelligent immobility:

> The heathen Kingdom Wilfred found
> Dreams, as she dwells, apart.

The aversion from change has been fostered by conditions and circumstances. "Sussex by the sea," although open to and assailable from that element, was, until almost recent years, cut off from London and the "shires" by the swampy lands and wide woods of the Weald, and by roads so muddy and impassable as hardly to deserve the name.

So, if anywhere, we ought to find in this county buildings which represent both survival and slow evolution. Evolution because experience, knowledge tardily gained by failure, watchfulness of times and seasons, ways and means, adaptation to varying conditions, have all gone to the making of an old Sussex cottage; survival, because its materials are not now the strongest, or cheapest, or most easily obtained. Yet, as originally constructed, the very keynote of these old buildings is simplicity.

Thoreau's admirable maxim, "Simplify, simplify, simplify," needed not to be learnt by their builders. The timber-framed sides, with their early plaster or, later, brick or flint filled panels, are cold and damp proof; and as to their durability, will our soft brick cottages, coated with Portland cement, exist, and if they exist, will they give pleasure to the artist or the architect when three or four hundred years are passed?

The thick thatch, warm in winter, cool in summer, is certainly for many reasons to be preferred to the thin blue slates or terrible corrugated iron with which parsimonious landlords not infrequently replace it. For its oak, too, Sussex has always been famous (Edward II. had six hundred and nineteen oaks from this county for Dover castle). Roughly sawn and shaped, and easily obtained of the necessary length, the whole tree supplied the huge cross-tiles, sills, and binders which held the old cottages together.

The natural curves, with a little assistance from art, formed the arched lintels, the great brackets, the ornamental braces so notable in the Steyning, or Henfield, or Horsham cottages. The "wattle and dab" (daub) filling in was extraordinarily durable. Sometimes of long grass, mixed with lime and sand, plastered on to hazel boughs, interlaced as in wattle hurdles, with no need of nails (thus in the Bignor cottage), or of hay, mud, and lime, plastered on to stout reeds (as at

Laughton), it often appears sounder than the exposed oak around it, and this work was thoroughly done by skilled workmen, the "mud-sticker" being named in accounts as distinct from the "plasterer."

The earliest wooden buildings were probably like the backwoodsman's hut, of log laid upon log or placed vertically, as in the very early church at Greenstead, where whole logs are used; but economy and other reasons dictated a less lavish use of the oak, and it was divided up into panels. An open framework, well pinned together with stout oak pegs, is usual, few nails being used.

A ruined cottage at Laughton shows the oak construction very clearly, and the use of reeds used for the plastering. The absence of nails is somewhat singular, as nail-making is known to have been a Sussex industry; for example, as far back as 1253 Sussex sent 30,000 horse-shoes and 60,000 nails "for the Queen," and 12,000 nails for the "King's house" at Southampton; and in 1327 in the sheriff's accounts 80,000 nails are mentioned, which went as far north as Newcastle.[1]

The great oak sills no doubt originally rested on the ground; but few, if any, of these remain. Of sills laid upon rough stone plinths or low walls, many examples may be found.

The sketch (fig. 2) of an inside wall of a very early cottage at Steyning shows the interlaced laths. All wood here is of oak.

The four great corner-posts also often exist still, or at least one or two of the corners still have them (for example, the large cottage at Barnes Green), the others having frequently had the decayed bases replaced with brick, as seen in cottages at Cowfold, two sides of which are still of timber. And as the wattle and dab decayed or was damaged, or a door or window was

[1] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xvii., p. 117.

Old Cottage on Henfield Common.

altered, brickwork was filled in instead, sometimes roughly or carelessly, at other times with an eye to effect, as in a house front at Albourne, which bears on the door the date 1661; or notably in the Bignor cottage,

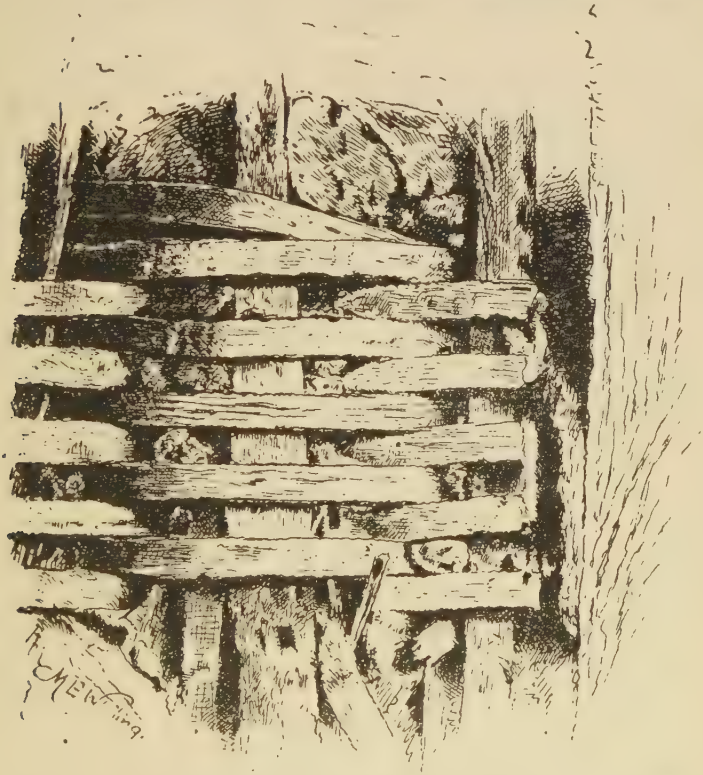

FIG. 2.—INSIDE OF WALL OF VERY EARLY COTTAGE AT STEYNING, SHOWING INTERLACED LATHS (ALL WOOD OF OAK).

where the bricks are of very early make and are only $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick.

One feature in Sussex cottages is of local interest, and is peculiar to this and one or two other counties—the use of flint. At Bignor are flint panels, which have a beautiful appearance; and the old cottages, still

thatched and of quite early date, at Old Shoreham are built of flintwork, with very little brickwork indeed. Another peculiarity is the heavy Horsham stone roofs, rapidly becoming uncommon, but well illustrated in the cottages at Slinfold, and in many still remaining in that neighbourhood.

The weight of this material necessitates the use of stout oak rafters, and beautiful as it is when moss-grown and weathered, it is rather difficult to justify its use in modern buildings. Tiles, which preceded it, have superseded it, yet it is almost indestructible, and must certainly keep the building beneath it of very equable temperature.

In restoring an interesting Sussex church by repairing the rather sunken wooden roof and adding a few new oak rafters, the writer was able to relay the old stone, as it was almost unchanged by those ravages of time which had affected its thick oak supports.

And, building bye-laws to the contrary notwithstanding, how much may be said for thatch. How different would be the cottages at Albourne or at Henfield with any other covering. With modern brick chimneys, as distinct from the old hole in the thatch or the wood and plaster smoke outlet, the risk of fire is small, although it is on record that in 1618 thatching of any new building was on this account especially prohibited at Hastings.

An old resident in a one-story cottage at Ringmer said: "I needs no grate, for this thatch be so warm in winter; sometimes I uses a little oil stove in the winter time"; and this equable temperature is without doubt one advantage which the heavy thatched roof supplied. The thatching is generally, but not always, of straw; at Amberley, where an unusual number of old thatched cottages remain (probably thirty so covered being near together), reeds are largely used, and very durable thatch they make.

One other roofing may be referred to—oak shingles, still to be found on church towers, porches, and the roofs of lych-gates, but rarely, if ever, on any house. In America, to judge from the advertisements in the building papers, shingles are used, and although still sometimes found on Sussex churches, the following entry in the Lindfield parish accounts of 1594 is sufficiently unusual to be quoted: "Paid to the shinglers for newynge of shingles, 1s."

It would be easy to ramble on much longer with gossip as to the cottages of Sussex, but enough has been said to open the subject for any who care to pursue it and to bring it down to our own times. Each county in England has its own ways of building, its peculiar materials, its architectural characteristics, and it may be forgiven a Sussex man if he thinks no other cottages quite equal to the Sussex cottages for quiet simplicity and harmonious grouping.

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